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INTERCHURCH GOVERNMENT



THE
P R E F A C E
TO THE
READER.



Write not to increase the Controversies of the times, nor to foment the differences that are among us ; the one are by far too many, the other too great already. My only design is to allay the heat and abate the fury of that Ignis sacer, or Erysipelas of contention, which hath risen in the face of our Church, by the overflowing of that bilious humour which yet appears to have too great predominancy in the Spirits of men. And although with the poor Persian I can only bring a hand-full of water, yet that may be my just Apology, that it is for the quenching those flames in the Church, which have caused the bells of Aaron to jangle so much, that it seems to be a work of the greatest difficulty to make them tunable. And were this an Age wherein any thing might be wondred at, it would be matter of deserved admiration, to hear the noise of these Axes and Hammers so much about the Temple, and that after these night twenty years carving and hewing, we are so rude and

A 2

unpolished

Frontispiece

This preface to the *Irenicum* of Edward Stillingfleet continues as follows: "that after these many years, etc., we are so rude and unpolished still and so far from being cemented together in the unity of the Spirit and the bond of Peace."

INTERCHURCH GOVERNMENT

BY

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DEDICATED
TO
MY FATHER

"THE DEAREST FRIEND TO ME, THE KINDEST MAN,
THE BEST-CONDITION'D AND UNWEARIED SPIRIT
IN DOING COURTESIES."

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INTERCHURCH GOVERNMENT

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I MOTIVES

"How old are you, Pauline?"

"Sixteen."

"And you never prayed in your life?"

"No."

"Did n't you ever even say your 'Now I lay me'?"

"Nothing like that. None of my family ever said a prayer nor taught me to say one."

This incident from the confessional of a religious educator is illustrative of one of the problems of modern life the solution of which requires the coöperative effort of all the churches. American youth must be defended from the powerful forces of immorality and irreligion which are attacking and rapidly destroying its Christian character. Only a united Church can save youth.

Protestant programs of religious education, social righteousness, industrial justice, international peace, all are either handicapped in power because of denominational divisions or go completely to smash on

the rocks of sectarianism. Catholic social service, missionary, and political programs have the power of a united Church behind them. Cardinal O'Connell tells the people of Massachusetts to vote *No*, and is able to mobilize the whole strength of the Church against the child labor amendment. The Catholic hierarchy in the United States opposes a National Department of Education and a Secretary of Education in the President's cabinet, and for a quarter of a century has continually defeated the efforts of a divided Protestantism on this issue.

The fear of the forces of evil should unite Protestantism. "Christian, dost thou see them compass thee around," is a hymn applicable to institutions as well as to individuals. The forces of evil which threaten youth, and the home, and world peace, are also the enemies of the Church and the Kingdom of God.

Only a united Church can defend youth from its many modern enemies, immoral "movies," the "jazz" dance, literature devoted to a realism of the flesh, education dominated by materialistic content and aims.

Only a united Church can save the home. With one divorce for every seven marriages, the American home seems doomed to destruction before its enemies—class strife, false social ideals, economic pressure, ignorance and weak character—unless the churches can unite in its defense.

Heretofore a divided Protestantism has presented a spectacle of puerile weakness in dealing with the forces of jingoism and economic imperialism which cause war.

Autocracy, defeated abroad, threatens to become dominant at home. The original protest of Protestantism was directed against just such world-wide imperialism. But in its present condition of division Protestantism can make an effective protest against nothing, and least of all against the powerful interests which profit by war.

A Church "divided against itself cannot stand," nor "put to flight the armies of night." A divided Church cannot give our young people the religious motives, the keen moral judgment, the positive and wholesome social and recreational activities, the well-rounded moral and religious education which they must have if they are to pass unscathed along the Christian Pilgrim's perilous modern journey to the Celestial City. A divided Church cannot provide a sufficiently powerful antidote for social strife, economic amelioration through the application of the ideals of Jesus to business and industry, nor that type of wholesome, non-contentious community life, which are necessary to preserve the Christian family. A divided Church cannot prevent war. There is much truth in the Papal assertion that anarchy in religion leads to the "ready corruption of the morals of the people and to the spread of the plague of religious indifference." A Church divided against itself cannot stand against the forces of evil.

Perhaps this emphasis upon the deplorable failures, defects, and deficiencies consequent upon sectarian division will bring a charge of lack of loyalty to the Church. The book is not written, however, in a

critical or pessimistic spirit. Present conditions of interchurch organization may not be the best, but the goal of complete coöperation is too near to despair. On the other hand, if our church government is ideally good already (as super-loyal sectarians would have us believe), it can be left to take care of itself. And in fact until lately the laity have generally been taught to leave it to do so. A chief purpose of this book therefore is to 'arouse popular interest among laymen in the problems of interchurch organization. This must be done not to increase but to allay fruitless sectarian contention. As stated in the Preface to the *Irenicum*: "Our Countroversies and Disputes have eaten too much out of the life and practice of Christianity. Religion hath been so much rarefied into airy notions and speculations, by the distempered heat of men's spirits that its inward strength and the vitals of it have been much abated and consumed by it."

The design of this book is to promote peace in the Church. But the quickest way to peace is not by a compromise of the interests of self-interested nations or sects, but by unswerving allegiance to eternal principles. The quickest way to peace among churches as among nations is the reign of law, administered by a supreme international or a supreme interdenominational authority, democratically based upon enlightened and conscientious public opinion.

In addition to these motives which animate all who are interested in Christian union, it is a further purpose of this book to place future discussions in regard to ecclesiastical organization on the basis of principle,

rather than mere expediency. Sectarian literature on interchurch government is very pragmatic. In searching for the pragmatist's conception of the meaning of the practical, Professor Lovejoy discovered thirteen different definitions.¹ The word "practical" in affairs of denominational coöperation has as many different definitions as there are separate sects. Often circumstances have conquered principle and political necessity has become the mother of theological invention. Instead of attempting to build the Church on a sound philosophical basis, theological systems have been evolved to justify existing conditions. Of this the Roman Church is not the only example. Church organization is a political problem the solution of which is the application of political principles. The motive of the present study is to determine, by the application of the principles of government to church organization, a form of union which shall embody the strong features of present organizations and remedy the defects of sectarian division. The form of union will not be unaffected by the form of doctrine. Theoretical Utopias are bound to be unsound in so far as they disregard experimental data. A medieval scientist wrote an essay on *The Uses of Dreams*. The present practical age ought not to overlook the possibilities of utility even in imaginary Utopias. But although utopian speculation is depreciated by those who are looking for an immediate practical cure-all, we must apply more than the pragmatic test to deter-

¹ Lovejoy, Arthur O., "Pragmatism and Theology," *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. 12, pp. 116-143.

mine the truth of our theories. We must apply a strictly logical test also. This demands that the theory be coherent, universal, and objectively true in the sense of being self-consistent and comprehensive. The entire system of thought must be self-consistent as well as consistent with practical political experience. But this leads into a discussion of method.

2 METHOD

Both the synoptic and the scientific methods have been adopted. It is a sound procedure to use philosophy and religion in determining goals, purposes, and ends and to use science in discovering means toward those ends. War uses science. The devil uses science. The Church must apply the scientific method to the solution of her problems of *modus operandi*; that is only to say that she must conserve and consecrate all her resources in the most effective way. But the Church has further resources which war and the devil do not have. The goals of Christian endeavor are guaranteed by their transcendental orientation in ethics, philosophy, and religion. The Church can rely on supernatural forces and can count on the coöperative power of the Holy Spirit. The most important contribution of Protestantism to our modern civilization, as Troeltsch reminds us, is this "extraordinarily strong religious and metaphysical foundation—the religious metaphysic of freedom and of a faith based on personal conviction. Let us jealously preserve

that principle of freedom which draws its strength from a religious metaphysic.”²

All sound political organization must be based on the truths of psychology, ethics, and metaphysics. The visible Church is a political organization composed of human beings united in the consciousness of the personal presence of “the God of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.”³ Its political philosophy therefore deals with the same elements as the philosophy of the state. In determining its best form of organization, since the Church is composed of human beings, it must consult psychology; being dedicated to the cause of divine justice, its organization must not be out of harmony with moral truth; as a temporal and finite system seeking to guide immortal souls in the midst of spiritual and eternal forces, the visible Church must not lose its connection with the invisible, heavenly Kingdom. Its laws must find their place in a rational and comprehensive view of the universe as a whole; and such a philosophy must consider the historic facts and supernatural character of the Christian religion, whose inner spirit and moral requirements no church organization can violate without gross sin.

If Christian union is not to be prevented by the primrose promises of opportunism it must proceed by

² Troeltsch, *Protestantism and Progress*, p. 207.

³ In John Robinson's Catechism, used for the instruction of the Pilgrim Fathers at Leyden, the Church is defined as “A company of faithful and holy people, called by the Word of God into public covenant with Christ and amongst themselves, for mutual fellowship in the use of all the means of God's glory and their salvation.”

the rocky road of adherence to principle. Political principles rest on faith in the perfectibility of human nature, in the triumph of justice, and in the righteousness of God.

The character of a government depends upon the character of the materials out of which it is made. Aristotle viewed the state as held together by the primary rational and political attributes of human nature; Machiavelli thought the dominant motive was fear; Grotius emphasized sociability; and Hobbes, fear, self-interest, and force. Writers trained in theology have usually been the most successful interpreters of political life because they recognize most clearly the fundamental moral and religious aspirations of men. The state is a function of souls in relation to one another and to God. The organization of the Church especially must be built around the nature of man as a worshipping being. Jesus Christ gave this spiritual estimation of human nature divine sanction. In so far as he may be said to have founded a Church, it was to be a brotherly fellowship whose constitutive principle is ethical sonship to an all-righteous and all-loving heavenly Father. St. Paul's analogy of the Church as a spiritual body, Augustine's City of God, Calvin's picture of citizens and states as instruments of Divine Providence, were all built on conceptions of human nature as essentially rational and spiritual in character. An imperial Church will be based on a different conception of human nature than the democratic Church. Ecclesiastical institutions must not violate the laws of man's spiritual re-

birth. This is in a sense the meaning of Jesus' declaration that the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath. The Church in its organization must be true to the Christian view of the human soul in its moral and spiritual development. But neither state nor Church is founded upon human nature, nor mere sociability, alone.

Church politics, strange as it may appear upon empirical considerations only, is related to Christian ethics. It is true in the secular field that civil laws are for the general good; but the nature of the good is a moral question. Problems of liberty and justice, the rights and duties of citizens, are moral issues. Christian society is still more intimately bound up with ethics. The Church is a society of the spiritually reborn, dedicated to the pursuit of the best life—a pilgrimage unto all perfection. The teleological argument for the existence of God rests on the proposition that the nature of the end determines the nature of the organization to secure that end. Church organization must not violate ethical principles. "First be reconciled to thy brother and then bring thy gift to the altar," is an admonition applicable not only to individuals but also to institutions. On the other hand, the organization of the Church should contribute positively to the realization of the best life. But the guarantee of morality is religion.

The Ship of State gets its guidance from the stars. The safety of the state depends upon the acceptance of the religious interpretation of the meaning of the stars. Our conception as to the worth

of human beings is governed by our ideas about what kind of a universe this is in which we live. The value of citizenship depends upon the Christian view of the infinite worth of all human souls. Equality before the law can only be justified by admitting the Christian conception of equality before God. The organization of the Church will be influenced by philosophies of religion. Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity present different ideas as to the worth of souls and their moral relations. It is to be expected that the political systems resulting would vary accordingly. The same is true of religious philosophies. In connection with pantheism we think of the worthlessness of souls, the neglect of moral, social, and civic duties, the "democracy of personal insignificance." In connection with deism we think of an Absentee Emperor, ruling by rabbinical decrees, oracular catastrophes, or apostolic representatives, which amounts to the same thing. In connection with personalism we think of a God constantly in communion with human beings, ruling by the persuasion of love upon free wills, souls standing ever in the light, in the immediate presence of God. Every citizen becomes a prophet. Religious as well as secular institutions must have metaphysical foundation. Faith in God is a basic principle of democracy in state or Church.

3 MATERIALS

This method of approach to the problem of Christian union, through the philosophy of the state, and

the application of the principles of political science to church government, is one which has been all too infrequently adopted especially by modern writers. Yet in the strict sense of the term there is nothing original about this book. To write from original investigation in so many fields would be impossible. The utmost possible is the exercise of reasonable care and discrimination in choosing authorities. Contributions to the subject by numerous writers in many fields have been elsewhere mentioned in notations, references, and bibliographies. Grateful acknowledgment of special obligation is due to E. S. Brightman, instructor in the philosophy of religion, Boston University, and to W. E. Hocking, instructor in the philosophy of the state, Harvard University.

It is hoped the layman, interested in the problems of the Church and religion in modern times, will find here some guidance as to the type of Christian enterprise in which his money, talents, and time may be most wisely invested. The attempt has been to make the book not only interesting to the layman and general reader, but also equally useful to ministers and professional religious workers. To the knowledge, tact, skill, and personal conviction of the clergy is largely due the success or failure of Christian coöperative movements. The professional worker in religious education or social service will find some value, it is hoped, in the presentation of materials relating to principles and experiments in the community organization of religious education, secular education, and social welfare agencies.

It has also been suggested that the book will prove

useful as a text-book for city schools of religious education, and for college classes in church and community organization; and as a reference text for classes in sociology, educational administration, civil government and political philosophy.

The method of class-room presentation of this subject will undoubtedly be similar to that adopted by teachers of history and political science. In addition to the lecture method, other devices are often used, such as (1) reports on selected topics; (2) written answers to questions previously assigned; (3) summaries of required readings in addition to the text; (4) class committees working on definite problems or projects; (5) debates on important controversial aspects of the subject; (6) term note-books in which may be placed (a) prepared summaries and outlines of the text, (b) questions requiring written answers, (c) briefs of books read, (d) term papers, (e) statistical studies, (f) diagrams, charts, maps, etc. No text-book will teach itself. It has, however, been the intent to add to the teaching value of this book by including many quotations from authorities, for the purpose of giving concreteness and detail; numerous explanatory charts and diagrams; photographic illustrations from the works of ancient and modern authorities, suggesting the historical background of the subject; questions and problems relating to the subject of each chapter, together with many notes and references; a classified index which it is hoped will remedy the defects of arrangement, if not those of logic; and extensive bibliographies—all of which it is hoped will

be of aid to students, as well as to instructors and others desiring to continue their investigation of the subject.

In brief, then, the following pages represent the effort to think out to their proper conclusions certain fundamental principles of government in relation to ecclesiastical organization, and to apply the conclusions to existing conditions. In view of the tremendous scope of the subject, the result can only be fragmentary and incomplete. Though neither in its principles nor in its applications does it extend as far as desirable, yet the process here essayed, the method here adopted, is certainly one for which there is great need especially in relation to programs of Interchurch Coöperation and Christian Union. It is a problem of great difficulty, but no apology is necessary for attempting a solution. In fact the great need is for continued attempts at the solution of this problem, especially on the part of laymen, professional church workers, ministers, and students of politics and religion. Further progress must be left to the keener analysis and better judgment of such readers. If the book shall in any degree meet the need or prove of value in aiding others to meet it, to the publishers must be given the credit for courageous pioneering in this form of service.

Go, little book, God send thee good passage,
And specially let this by thy prayere
Unto them all that will thee read or hear,
Where thou art wrong, after their help to call,
Thee to correct in any part or all.

CHAPTER II

THE CHALLENGE TO PROTESTANTISM ¹

I THE RENAISSANCE OF PAGANISM

In the political philosophy of Aristotle the cycle of historic change witnessed the successive dissolution of many forms of government. A republic was followed by democracy; democracy by artistocracy; aristocracy by oligarchy; oligarchy by monarchy; and royalty by tyranny. Democracy, a perversion of republicanism, would result in the establishment of oligarchy, a perversion of aristocracy. Is American history demonstrating Aristotle's formula? Are coming generations to witness the decline and fall of democracy?

An extensive and thorough investigation concerning the character of American society was recently made by a national magazine of religion. The editors of this journal suggest the validity of the assertion that "the industry, the economics, the politics, our national ideals and international practices are based upon and shot through and through with utterly pagan implications." ² This statement has been borne out by too many actual facts to be relegated to the limbo of flamboyant utterances of excitable religious leaders.

¹ The title of Dr. Cadman's ninth lecture in *Christianity and the State*.

² *The Christian Century*, 1923-1924.

The pagan state will replace democracy as materialistic motives dominate society. The Roman Empire furnishes an example for comparison. This great empire was destroyed from within by the abandonment of moral and spiritual ideals, and the substitution thereof of a struggle for material gain and pleasure. Social life deteriorated, and political relations disintegrated. Gladiatorial combats, gambling, and Oriental luxury took the place of earlier simplicity and sobriety. Selfishness took the place of patriotism. The centralization of wealth built up great estates, destroyed the agricultural class, and sharpened social distinctions. The superficial dissemination of Greek philosophy and popular Oriental mysteries discredited religion. The priests performed their rituals as part of a political machine.³ Religion and morality were regarded as rela-

³ According to Professor Hobhouse (*The Church and the World*) the English Establishment has degenerated until it has become "merely a machine for christening, marrying and burying the population, and as any parish priest knows the results are far from edifying."

Regarding religious conditions in England, Professor Hobhouse makes the statement that "the working class in London as a whole stands outside any organized religious body. As to literature, thought, and social questions we have now reached a point at which it is impossible any longer to presume that the views expressed in books or newspapers, or in the drama or in current conversation, will have any reference to the obligations of Christian morality. Illustration is almost superfluous but for recent examples I may refer to the evidence given by many witnesses before the Committee on the Censorship of the Drama (1909); and to the evidence of the President of the Divorce Court and of many other witnesses before the Royal Commission on Divorce (1910). When questioned by the Archbishop of York as to the relation of his suggestions to the traditional Christian views of marriage, Sir John Bigham replied, 'I do not look at the question from the religious point of view at all.' (*Times*, Feb. 28, 1910.)"—Hobhouse, *The Religious Chaos of To-day*.

tive to the pleasurable satisfactions of the individual or the material interests of the empire.

There are many indications of the renaissance of paganism in America. Proof of this assertion demands a brief survey of the facts, facts relating to social and economic conditions and to the educational, moral, and religious ideals of the people.

The statement that "most Americans are more interested in their own stomachs than they are in the heart of the world" implies that our interests are in material things, that we are primarily materially minded. There is a good deal of truth in this assumption.

Witness our worship of success. We are still disciples of Machiavelli even in this: "If any course of action promises success, regardless of its viciousness the evil is only apparent." And Gladstone comments, "The spectacle of success has magical effects regardless of the means of its attainment, even among those who repudiate Machiavellianism."

In regard to the dominating *Incentives in Modern Life*, Kirby Page says:

The man who purchases a corner lot for \$5000 and two years later sells it for \$12,000 is credited with good judgment. The broker who buys at 89 and sells at 148 is congratulated by his friends. The name of the home run king whose salary runs into five figures is a household word throughout the land. The prize fighter who receives \$350,000 for a few well directed blows is acclaimed a national hero. The movie star who draws a salary of a million dollars a year is the idol of the fans. The farmer whose potato patch is transformed into

an oil well and whose old buggy is exchanged for a Rolls-Royce, becomes an object of admiration and envy on the part of his neighbors. And so it goes through modern life. The possessive instincts, the desire to own and to display are prominent.

Social stratification, the exaltation of the leisure class and the degradation of the laborer, are characteristic of Paganism. In Ancient Greece ten thousand out of forty thousand or 25 per cent were slaves. In the United States ten million persons, or 10 per cent of the population, exist in absolute poverty.⁴

Six great industrial concerns employ, at wages barely sufficient to maintain a minimum standard of living, about three million workers, more persons than there were slaves in the whole Roman Empire. Two per cent of the population own 60 per cent of the wealth of our country, while two thirds of the population own barely 5 per cent of the wealth.⁵ During five years (1918-1922) there were in the United States an average of three thousand strikes and lockouts every year. One hundred and three families in dynastic America control fourteen basic industries; three hundred families control the railways, twelve the oil industry, eleven the steel trade, and five the packing industry. In 1922 there were forty-five thousand men killed in factories, approximately five million out of work, and ten million in absolute poverty. The reason our national ideals are no higher is undoubtedly due to the fact that fear of want and destitution have kept so many thousands

⁴ Parmelee, *Poverty and Progress*, p. 105-106.

⁵ King, W. I., *Wealth and Income in United States*, p. 8.

for so long on the level of mere striving for bodily comforts and satisfactions. These facts show how we are sacrificing human values to economic values.

Selfish disregard of the life and property of others is characteristic of paganism. There were 14,640 murders in the United States in a single year (1922). People are being killed every day.⁶ The American Institute of Criminology reports that the loss of property in the United States due to fraud and burglary amounts to a cost of \$2,775,000,000 per year. Low social standards are indicated by the divorce rate. On the average 407 families are separated by divorce every day in the year. In the United States in 1922 there was one divorce for every seven marriages, a total of divorces for the year of 148,554. Statistics show there is more crime in the United States in pro-

⁶ The following quotation describes a day in Christian America: "Is the United States a mining camp? Certainly the daily grist of news makes it look that way. A priest is shot to death in the confessional by the wife of another priest; a veteran turns his revolver against his own wife; schoolboys shoot into a classroom in an effort to kill the teacher; a patrolman is carried to a hospital in a dangerous condition from a bullet wound; a trained nurse goes out for a walk, and is found dead some hours later, her head crushed by a great stone. Next to a depressing column of suicides stretches a long roll of robberies. Banks have taken to transporting their valuables in armored cars with a riot-gun specialist inside. One of the most expensive hotels in New York is visited by holdup men, who rob clerk and guests and the jewelry store in the lobby. Every day or so a mangled corpse is picked up on the highway, struck by a passing motorist. The crowd at a football game becomes dissatisfied with the entertainment offered and beats up the players. All things considered, Americans are living in a violent place, in which murders, holdups and assaults are literally of daily occurrence."—*Boston Globe*, October 9, 1923.

portion to its population than in any other civilized country on the face of the globe.

It is an indication of paganism when material, recreational, or esthetic values are placed above educational, religious or character values. Historians make the growing materialism of America a matter of special comment. "From a people of plain living (with or without high thinking) the Americans have come to have the most luxurious ideals of modern times. The absence of a society divided by rank, title or hereditary family, leads to a struggle to *arrive* through a display of money. Ladies at a ball may wear a parure of jewels like that of an Indian maharajah; at a girl's coming-out party, twenty-five thousand dollars may be spent for flowers, decorations and perishable refreshments; and the wealthy man seeks to express himself through an enormous and costly house; while the great hotels have become the Roman baths of modern American life and vie with their prototypes in the display of marble and bronze." ⁷

Attention has recently been called to the fact that the United States Government devotes 68 per cent of its income to paying the debts of past wars, 25 per cent to the preparation for future wars, 6 per cent to governmental departments (Labor, Agriculture, etc.), and only 1 per cent to education.

The people of the United States spend on the average \$2.40 apiece for automobiles, \$1.30 for candy, \$1.12 for coffee, 81 cents for patent medicine, 7 cents

⁷ Hart, *American Ideals Historically Traced*.

for lead-pencils, 10 cents for education, and one half of a cent for religious education. The amount of money paid for cigarettes alone in one year (\$800,000,000) would build seventy-five \$100,000 church schools, seventy-five \$100,000 churches, and forty \$25,000 recreation centers, *in every State in the union.*

The accompanying table, with its columns of figures showing expenditures in the United States for a single year, is interesting in its revelation of American ideals.

TABLE I AMERICA'S SENSE OF RELATIVE VALUES

Public elementary education	\$762,000,000	Cosmetics	\$750,000,000
Normal schools	20,000,000	Chewing-gum	50,000,000
High schools	137,000,000	Ice-cream sodas	350,000,000
U. S. Bureau of Education (1922)	161,000	Enforcement of Insecticide Act	156,000
All Departments of Education in the whole nation cost approximately	1,000,000,000	U. S. Army (1921) upkeep.	418,000,000
Total budget all Protestant churches in U. S. for five years	337,000,000	Tobacco in all forms	1,151,000,000
Persian missions	200,000	Theaters, movies, and cabarets (one year)	897,000,000
		Persian rugs	1,000,000
		The World War (nineteen months) for U. S.	22,500,000,000

To induce American citizens to show an interest in the Church, religion has been subordinated to esthetics.⁸ A large proportion of teachers and ministers be-

⁸ New York, November 15.—Five Hellenic maidens, schooled in the ideals of true pagan beauty, will assemble rhythmically the patterns of Greek friezes and dance the story of "The Birth and Progress of the Human Soul" before the chancel of St. Mark's-in-the-Bouwerie, on Sunday afternoon, as a part of a "Sculptural Oratorio" conceived

long to the "submerged tenth" of the population. The Carnegie Foundation reported recently that the average salaries of elementary school teachers in the United States was less than \$600 per year. The Inter-Church survey shows that the average salary of ministers is less than \$800. Yet we think nothing of paying subordinate managers of railroads and industrial concerns \$50,000 to \$350,000 per year. All this in spite of the fact that our needs are less material than spiritual. One out of every twenty persons in the United States can neither read nor write. Fifty million people, about one half the total population, do not belong to any church of any kind. There are twenty-seven million Protestant children under twenty-five years not members of any church or enrolled in any church school.

In the Presidential election of 1920 only 26,000,000 of the 54,000,000 eligible voters went to the polls and 28,000,000 stayed away. The author of *The Southern Oligarchy* asserts that the "citizens of the Southern States are still held in political subjection and economic serfdom." Both Presidents Roosevelt and Wilson spoke of the "invisible empire" which stands between the voter and his control of the government. This is paganism in politics.

The foregoing statements seem to bear out the belief that the dominant incentives in American life to-day are not the unselfish motive of serving others but the selfish desire to possess and enjoy, to succeed

by the rector. "We are not pagans in St. Mark's," said the rector, "but we are undogmatic. The beauty of faith cannot readily be expressed in words. The word 'pagan' might convey to a few the beauty we are trying to bring to man to help him realize faith."

and achieve. The expenditures of such tremendous sums for trivialities, and for ends injurious to personality, and the investment of comparatively small sums in those treasures which "moth and rust cannot consume," show a lack of spiritual idealism on the part of the American people. This demonstration of the dynamogenic activities of the average American heart goes far to prove the assertion that America is witnessing a renaissance of paganism.

2 THE MENACE OF CATHOLICISM

Recent developments in England, France, and America are reminding us of the real issues between Protestantism and Catholicism. Questions of doctrine and ritual are not so alarming or irritating as those of policy and administration. Under the plea of toleration Catholicism is sweeping the country. With a membership in 1916 five times as great as the largest Protestant body, its rate of growth since 1890 surpasses that of any other church. To aid this advance several methods have been used. *First:* the emphasis on religious toleration has diverted attention from the irreconcilable contrast between the autocratic Church and the democratic state. *Second,* there is the well-known expression of a pseudo-patriotism, which if sincere is logically inconsistent, which expresses loyalty to our country and forefathers (Columbus and Charles Carroll), making at the same time mental reservation that the spiritual authority of the pope at Rome is above the temporal

power of the Government at Washington. *Third*, the promotion of the parochial school system challenges the right of the state to educate for democracy; for this system the Catholic Church is now prepared to contend with the state before the Supreme Court of the land. *Fourth*, the philosophic movement known as neo-scholasticism is gaining headway in this country; this movement attempts to reconcile Catholic theology and natural science, and to present a religious philosophy which will appeal to the educated classes of America.

Furthermore, the Catholic Church gains by appealing to the religious emotions while Protestants are dissipating the religious attitude of reverence and devotion by dissentious intellectualisms. "Souls given either to misanthropy or to ecstasy, to submission or to worship, find Catholicism congenial to their longings and emotions. Those who have grown weary of the effort to formulate their own beliefs; those also who fear the overweening pressure of materialism; and the lesser natures which are drawn to elaborate rites, flee to Catholicism as their city of refuge and temple of devotion."⁹ Thousands of such American citizens flock to the services of the Catholic churches, and thousands more are only deterred from final and total loyalty by the political connection of that church with Rome.

Both the propertied and the propertiless classes feel the appeal of the Catholic Church. The innate conservatism of this institution, the static condition of

⁹ S. Parkes Cadman, *Christianity and the State*, p. 343.

its theology, its emphasis upon devotion and obedience at the expense of thought and initiative, its constitutional dislike of communism and democracy, are all characteristics which have gained the sympathy of industrial and political leaders interested in maintaining the *status quo*. "The Catholic Church," says one English writer for example, "has no illusion about the manifold imperfections of fallen man, no new-found contrivances for making a new heaven and a new earth; but recognizes that much suffering must ever be the lot of mankind, not to be removed by the best of governments. . . . A war therefore of classes, a stirring up of the workmen against masters and of the poor against the rich, and indiscriminate abuse of all masters as tyrants, of all men of substance as drones or vampires—such methods of levelling are wholly foreign to the Catholic conception of Democracy, whose advocates do not even object to lords—some are lords themselves." ¹⁰

On the other hand, the Catholic Church has, so far as consistent with its own autocratic organization, championed the rights of the oppressed. "A notable series of Encyclicals against greed, social oppression and war, or in behalf of lawfulness and sobriety have come out of the Vatican." ¹¹ "The formation of Catholic socialist societies in France, England, Germany, and America indicates a desire to maintain, under

¹⁰ C. S. Devas, *Meaning and Aim of Democracy*, Catholic Truth Society, London.

¹¹ Cadman, *Church and State*, p. 344.

Catholic control, organizations devoted to the betterment of the people. The Catholic socialist societies are exclusive groups, devoting their energies, oftentimes, less vigorously to the attainment of human welfare than to the destruction of other socialist groups, the disintegration or control of national political parties, and the promotion of Catholic interests. The Catholic Church in America, however, is more democratic than anywhere else in the world.¹² Broad-minded and liberal Catholic churchmen are sincerely promoting a social program with more enthusiasm than many conservative Protestant sects.

Asked to set forth the position of the National Catholic Welfare Council, a Roman Catholic bishop said: "My friend, Rome has learned her lesson in Europe. There we have too often cast our lot with the powers that have been, and they, when they went down, have dragged us with them. It takes no prophet to see that America a hundred years from now will be an industrial democracy if she is anything. The day of the capitalist and the middle-man, the men you Protestants seem to want to cultivate, is visibly drawing to its close. We have learned our lesson; we are putting ourselves now on the side of the man who will be in power before the end of this century."¹³

All this, apart from the influence and prestige which the Catholic Church has gained in political life, makes

¹² See Hecker, *The Catholic Church in America*, p. 18.

¹³ *The Christian Century*, "Labor Day in the Church," August 28, 1924.

it evident that this church is preparing to enroll two thirds, rather than only one third, of America's religious citizens under its banners.

When it is remembered that 56 per cent of the population of the United States belongs to no church whatever, it becomes certain that no single Protestant sect alone can hope to hold its own against either Catholicism or paganism. If church people are not to be ruled by the devil or the pope, they must unite to rule themselves through some form of interchurch federation.

3 THE CRISIS OF THE CHURCHES ¹⁴

Many books recently issued on this subject agree that the churches are facing a crisis. Among them are such suggestive titles as the following: *The Church and the New World Order*, *Preaching against Paganism*, *The Church at the Crossroads*, *The Church in the Furnace*, *The Outlook for Religion*, *The Church and the Hour*, *The Reconstruction of Religion*, *The Reconstruction of the Church*, *Can We Still Be Christians?* *Shall We Stand by the Church?* *Why Not Face the Facts?* *The New Horizon of State and Church*, *The Challenge of the Present Crisis*, etc., etc.

A few of these authors content themselves with urging that the Church must provide the spiritual foundations of social reconstruction, but most of them find necessary some form of reorganization of the Church itself before it can adequately cope with present-day

¹⁴ Leighton Parks, *The Crisis of the Churches*, Scribner's.

problems, or stay the rising tide of the pagan demoralization of democracy. Among the latter are such men as President Faunce, Dean Brown, Arthur E. Holt, Graham Taylor, W. E. Orchard, L. P. Jacks, J. M. Mecklin, Durant Drake, C. A. Ellwood, Paul M. Strayer, Bishop McConnell, Harry Emerson Fosdick, S. Parkes Cadman, Charles S. Macfarland, Paul Vogt, Samuel Z. Batten, George B. Cutten, H. G. Wells, H. Rashdall, William Boyle, Charles D. Williams, Albert P. Fitch, Peter Ainslie, Joseph H. Odell, William T. Ellis, A. O. Lovejoy, W. A. Brown, William Robinson, Daniel Lamont, Frank Crane, Lyman Abbott, John Mott, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

These men, representing so many divergent interests and schools of thought, present an impressive unanimity of opinion as to the responsibility of the churches for coöperative action.

President Faunce says: "Christianity must unite its own forces before it can effectively urge the nations to unite. It must federate its own sects before it can demand the federation of the world. There must be peace in the Church before there can be peace on earth."

Arthur E. Holt says: "There can be no projection of brotherliness into the social order by the Church until the Church first wins brotherliness in her own life. For the Church to try to teach brotherhood without achieving brotherhood is ineffectual and the purest kind of Pharisaism. If the Church is to promote brotherliness it must subordinate the denominational spirit to the Christian fellowship."

Professor Ellwood says: "First of all the Church must become united within itself. It cannot preach a gospel of reconciliation successfully unless it can illustrate that doctrine in its own life. It cannot reunite a divided world as long as it remains divided and warring within itself."

Graham Taylor says: "There is a tremendous gulf between the churches and the masses of the people in the densest populations of Christendom. The deepest breach is that of the ethical relationship of industrial life."

Professor Mecklin says: "To-day institutional Christianity is concerned not so much with the problem of elevating men to the Christian standard as with the task of recasting its own ethical ideals."

Professor L. P. Jacks says: "Between the Church and the world all ethical contrast is abolished; both in guilt and innocence they are one. If the world is bankrupt the Church cannot be solvent but shares with the world in the general ruin, both as to guilt of its cause and the unending mischief of its effects."

The Rev. W. E. Orchard says: "Surely there must have come to all genuine Christians a sudden revelation of the utter impotence that their position involves. The war was launched upon us by the despatch of a telegram, and the pressing of a button mobilized armies for destruction. If there had only been a Church. There was; but it was distracted, divided, and easily stampeded by the forces of evil. It is perfectly obvious that the Church was caught up into a machine by the frayed fringes of its garments. The

Church will always be a prey to this sort of thing until it has a mind of its own and a body to express it. Our creeds and systems may differ, but in this world-crisis all churches are alike, and they are just like the world. The Church can give little help to the mighty tasks of rebuilding international and social relationships when it has not solved these problems for itself."

Bishop McConnell says: "The abrupt plunge into the world catastrophe revealed to Protestantism the appalling fact that she had no voice through which she could speak a single word authoritatively at a time of world crisis. Lord Grey reported that forty-eight hours more of discussion would have forestalled the crisis. How would it have been possible for Protestantism to say or do anything in forty-eight hours? Who would have spoken? Who can speak for Protestantism? The tragic fact is that Protestantism as such cannot say or do anything on any of the greatest questions that occupy the thought of man, in forty-eight hours, or forty-eight days, for that matter. The war will leave behind it a host of world-wide perplexities which a world-wide Church ought to help relieve. In any event the present plight of the churches cannot long endure."

H. G. Wells says: "The true Church towards which my own thoughts tend will be the conscious illuminated expression of catholic brotherhood. . . . It is curious how misleading a word can be. We speak of a certain phase in the history of Christianity as the Reformation, and that word effectually conceals from most people the indisputable fact that there has

been no Reformation. There was an attempt at a Reformation . . . and through a variety of causes it failed. It detached great masses from the Catholic Church and left that organization impoverished intellectually and spiritually, but it achieved no reconstruction at all. It achieved no reconstruction because the movement as a whole lacked an adequate idea of catholicity. It fell into particularism and failed. It set up a vast process of fragmentation among Christian associations. It drove large fissures through one common platform. . . . People are now divided by forgotten points of difference, by sides taken by their predecessors in the disputes of the sixteenth century, by mere sectarian names and the walls of separate meeting-places. In the present time as a result of the dissenting method, there are multitudes of believing men scattered quite solitarily through the world. The Reformation . . . lies still before us. It is a necessary work. It is a work strictly parallel to the reformation and expansion of the State. Together these processes constitute the general duty before mankind."

Samuel Z. Batten says: "If the Church is to meet the present crisis it must undergo some radical changes. It finds itself in a changing world order confronted with a new situation. Men say that the Church never changes but that always and everywhere it is the same. But every one knows that such a statement is both un-historical and absurd. Living things must change. An unchanging Church would be a dead institution. The world is changing, and the Church as a part of the

I R E N I C U M.
A
WEAPON-SALVE
FOR THE
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OR THE
D I V I N E R I G H T
OF

Particular Forms of CHURCH GOVERNMENT;

Discussed and examined according to the Principles of the
Law of Nature, the positive Laws of God, the practice of
the Apostles and the Primitive Church, and the judgment
of Reformed Divines.

Whereby a foundation is laid for the Churches peace, and the
accommodation of our present differences.

Humbly tendered to Consideration.

By *Edward Stillingfleet*, Rector of *Sutton in Bedfordshire*.

The Second Edition, with an Appendix concerning the Power
of Excommunication in a Christian Church.

Let your Moderation be known unto all Men; the Lord is at hand,
Phy. 4. 6.

*Si ad decedendum hodie vix contraxeritis — ius divinum à possessione sua Eccle-
sastiæ non amittit deprehensum; non videtur de iis que sunt absolute necessaria,
inter pietas aut moderatio vestros longa aut acris contentio iuvare. Isaac. Ca-
saub. ep. ad Card. Perron.*

*Alium vixit ad retinendam Ecclesiæ pacem inter ea que sunt iuris præcepta
sunt, & que non sunt, accuratè distinguere. Grotius de Iur. r. tam Potestatis
circa. sacra. cap. 11.*

London, Printed by R. W. for Henry Mortlock, at the Press in
St. Paul's Church yard near the little North door. 1662.

PLATE II. "A WEAPON-SALVE FOR THE CHURCHES
WOUNDS"

Attention is called to the method of procedure, a study which is to be both inductive and deductive, based not only on the scientific study of the "Law of Nature" but also upon the philosophy of religion, the "positive laws of God." The author seeks to allay sectarian controversies and disputes by presenting "evidence that Christ never intended any one form as the only means to peace in the Church."

world must change with it. An unchanging Church in a changing world order would mean collision and disaster. These changes will not mean any shifting in the essential truths of the gospel, for these stand fast forever. But they may mean some larger and truer apprehensions of these truths. They may not mean the breaking up of the present church bodies and the creation of some new and more comprehensive organization; and yet they may mean just that thing. They will mean that the churches must find some way of being more effective and securing closer coöperation."

If spiritual force is to conquer paganism it must be properly directed. This is the conclusion of Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, Jr. "The Church must have a new birth and be reorganized to meet this marvelous opportunity and great human need. This is the right, logical, and natural solution of the problem. It must be realized; and the responsibility therefore rests upon each member of the Christian Church."

4 PATHWAYS TO CHRISTIAN UNITY¹⁵

Hugo Grotius, in his *Law of War and Peace*, used both the inductive and deductive methods in arriving at his conclusions. What he could not establish by observing the practices of nations he sought to deduce from recognized ethical principles. In harmony with that method of approach the following chapters will present a description of various attempts at church union and a consideration of the principles upon which

¹⁵ Malcolm Spencer et al., *Pathways to Christian Unity*.

those attempts have been made, and which point to the failure of certain movements and guarantee the success of others.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1 Are there any philosophies or social ideals in America to-day which may be justly characterized as pagan? Why have Americans gained the reputation abroad as being "the greatest of realists"? Is it true that "Americans are more interested in their own stomachs than they are in the heart of the world"?

2 What would be your answer to *The Christian Century's* query, "Is our modern so-called Christian civilization Christian?" What can you say for or against the literal truth of the proposition that "the greatest missionary challenge in the world is right here in the United States"?

3 On what grounds would you justify or explain the constant recurrence of anti-Catholic movements in a democracy? Is there a limit to the concept of toleration?

4 Define scholasticism and neo-scholasticism? Will the Catholic Church gain or lose in influence by attempting to restate Catholic theology in modern categories? Are the social service ideals of liberal Catholics consistent with the form of government of the Catholic Church?

5 What indications are there that America is rapidly becoming a Catholic country?

6 "It is an indisputable fact," says H. G. Wells, "that there has been no Reformation." In your judgment, is this statement justifiable?

7 In view of the psychological connection of imagination and habit, are the "movies" or the Church giving the most powerful form of moral education to the children and youth of your community?

8 *The Christian Herald* (New York) presents the following syllogism:

a The country is flooded with crime because of the lack of religious education of children and youth.

b The lack of religious education of children and youth is due to religious bigotry and prejudice, denominationalism, and creedal jealousy.

c Therefore, creeds are the cause of crime.

Is there any fallacy or weakness in this argument?

9 Do you believe that a reorganization of the Church itself is necessary before it can adequately cope with present-day problems?

10 Define the inductive and deductive methods and show how each may be used in a study of church organization. Define the synoptic and scientific methods and indicate the place of each in a study of the reorganization of the Church.

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CHAPTER III

IMPERIALISM

I PRESENT STATUS OF THE PROBLEM

That the churches of the United States as a whole are not democratically organized for coöperative effort may be seen by comparing their systems with the growth of democracy in the state. A brief review would show us the Roman Empire, developing into the Holy Roman Empire, dissolving into separate national monarchies, reformed by revolution into constitutional monarchies, associations of free states, and finally into restricted democracies, being more and more liberalized by modern governmental reforms. These reforms include the extension of the franchise, increasing powers granted to representative assemblies, proportional representation, the increasing control of executive, judicial, and legislative powers, initiative, referendum, direct action by popular vote on international treaties, etc. Direct election of representatives is replacing nomination and election by the convention caucus method, of ill repute; the making of laws by representatives is being supplemented by the direct making of laws by the people through the referendum and initiative.

In international affairs there have been two policies contending for supremacy. The theory of imperial-

ism is that all nations should submerge their separate individuality in one great empire.

For example, Napoleon initiated the principle of central control; he appointed the governors of all the departments and the mayors of all the communes of France. As a consequence the French people have had little training in local self-government, and have been called the "greatest of flunkeys"; whereas the people of the Swiss democracy, having retained local autonomy, are the most intelligent and eager voters in the world to-day.

The imperialistic theory was the one for which the Holy Roman Empire stood, for which Germany fought in the World War, for which the Catholic Church contends to-day. The other theory is that of an association of coequal powers in which the right of self-determination of small communities and small nations shall be safeguarded.

One of the early Catholic fathers once said, in trenchant Latin phrase, that the polity of the Church is always modeled after the form of government of the state. Comparing, therefore, this political progress in the state with that which has been made in church organization, several facts seem clear. First, there are several denominations to-day patterned after the monarchical or imperialistic forms of government. Second, those denominations which are most democratic in their local forms have not advanced beyond the eighteenth century in their methods of national representation. Most of the congregationally governed bodies were organized about the time of the American

Revolution, and their church government has not advanced much since then. Third, interdenominational organizations are about in the period that the colonial States were at the time of the Articles of Confederation (1781-1789), the critical period of American government. The federation of churches in America is more analogous to the United States Chamber of Commerce, or to the National Association of Manufacturers, than to the House of Representatives of our National Congress. The charge that this federation is a "paper parliament," organized to make gentlemen's agreements as to the ecclesiastical control of the local communities of our nation, is open to investigation. Fourth, a reform is needed. A form of interdenominational comity is needed, founded not on the imperialistic theory that one denomination is to absorb all the rest, but upon the association theory, which will give as much power to the central authority as the United States Government has, and yet preserve the right of self-determination of small communities and small denominations.

Our National Government to-day has been called a pagan state by modern social and political scientists. If the secular state is pagan in its forms of organization, how much more pagan is the Church! We live under a twentieth-century form of state organization, but under sixteenth-century and eighteenth-century forms of church organization. Think what changes will have to take place before modern political devices can be used in ecclesiastical affairs; such devices for example as direct vote for President, senators,

and representatives, proportional representation of various parties and schools of thought, the preferential ballot, not to speak of the initiative, referendum, and recall. But if direct participation of all citizens in state politics is necessary to develop individual personality and social consciousness, is not direct participation of all church-members in church politics necessary to the development of a Christian personality, and of a Christian religious consciousness?

If we wish Christian character in the state we must have Christian Democracy in the Church.

2 IMPERIALISM IS OF IMMINENT DANGER TO THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

The principle of imperialism must be abandoned. Enough has been said to show the folly of attempting to continue autocratic control of church affairs. Imperialism is obsolete. In the midst of theological controversies, modern ecclesiastics often overlook this important fact. Even to-day there are those who would protect and perpetuate their own infallible theology by autocratic methods of government. The Protestant churches separated from the Catholic Church on theological issues, but they still often resort to the same autocratic methods as were used by the Catholic Church at the time of Luther, and which were the real cause of the Reformation.

So long as denominations continue to pursue the imperialistic method of government, they are providing for their own destruction. The first tendency

is toward the elimination of small sects and the strengthening of the larger denominations. In communities now divided by the denominations, that church is the strongest which has the most resources. Gradually two or three great denominations build up a community prestige which crowds out their smaller competitors. As an illustration of this, note how the denominations have divided the young people of the communities. The religious ideals of these competing young people's organizations vary so little that our youth can hardly be blamed for not regarding their differences seriously. They will go to the church and join the organization which offers the most attractive program. The most attractive program will be offered by the church having the most resources and the highest prestige in the community. Thus gradually our young people will be drawn into two or three great denominations. The principle of imperialism is here seen getting in its work; the rights of small denominations, or small organizations, or small communities, to self-determination in young people's work, can never be maintained as long as sectarian competition is allowed to divide our villages and cities.

Thus the principle of imperialism is seen working toward the establishment (by absorption or exclusion) of one all-powerful denomination, the ideal of the Catholic Church.¹ But it has been amply demon-

¹ "This political unity [of the Roman Church] doth not well accord with the nature and genius of the evangelical dispensation. . . . The place of the [Apostolic] Church was preserved by the communion of all the parts together, not by the subjection of the rest to one part." (Barrow, Isaac, "Treatise on the Supremacy of the Pope," and "The Unity of the Church," *Works*, Vol. III, p. 311.)

strated historically that such an imperial organization can never survive. It contains within itself the principles of its own destruction. A second tendency, therefore, in imperialistically governed bodies, is that of division. Here we have the cause of the multiplication of sects. It is to find freedom to worship God and govern themselves in their own way, that new sects are formed. There would be no necessity of forming a new sect were the requisite freedom found in the old denominations. But it is not there; imperialism does not provide for it.

When three or four strong imperialistic denominational organizations have succeeded in their drive to dominate church and religious affairs, there is sure to be another Reformation, a realinement of the interests

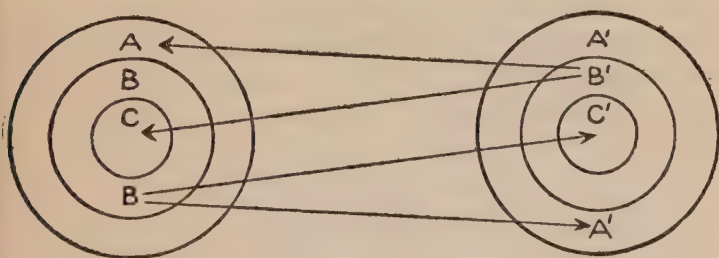


CHART I IMPERIAL COMPETITION

within each denomination which are discontented because autocracy has fettered the right to self-expression and self-government. The above diagram should make this clear.

Let A and A' represent two large autocratic de-

nominations competing for supremacy. Within each large denomination there are bound to be disaffected elements. These inner divisions may be due to theological controversy or political contests for the control of the denomination. Let B and B¹ represent strong factions whose interests conflict decidedly with those of the larger group. There may also be smaller groups differing in minor matters but whose interests are identified with the larger denominations. Let these be C and C¹. Within the denomination, B will be in constant conflict with A and C; the B group may withdraw and form a new sect. Or if the conflict concerns interdenominational coöperation, B is likely to aline itself with the A¹ and C¹ factions of a competing denomination; and B¹ is found alined with A and C in the opposing denomination.

An empire contains within itself the principle of its own destruction. This truth may be illustrated by many examples from the fate of empires.

Note the following representing A, B, and C:

a Austria: *b* Hungary: *c* Slovaks.

a Britain: *b* Ireland: *c* Ulster.

a. Ottoman Empire: *b* Armenia: *c* Mohammedan Armenia.

a The pope: *b* emperor and kings: *c* barons or nobles.

Large autocratic denominations will ultimately split into smaller governmental groups. Do we not find here a reasonable picture describing the rapid multi-

plication of sects? ² And also a source of much that is reprehensible in religious associations—machine politics, advantages held by temporary treaties, alliances formed to preserve the balance of power, and all the other accompaniments of secret denominational diplomacy! In fact the methods adopted by the denominational boards in both the home and foreign mission fields form a striking parallel to the methods adopted in the field of commercial imperialism. Just as nations or commercial firms make mutual agreements or alliances in exploiting the material resources of a country, so the sects arrange areas to be spiritually developed. This has led to the attempt to preserve the balance of power among the denominations, which has kept religious life and work in constant turmoil. It has resulted in agonizing competition between the parties to prevent one from securing advantages over another. As in international affairs, so in interdenominational activities, it leads to attempts on the one side and the other to secure the protection of diplomatic alliances, which haunt the minds of all parties and produce a supersensitive and suspicious atmosphere among them. It leads to what might be called the *partition of salvation* whereby the ever-watchful rivals by a forced *calculus of souls* (from Chinese to mountain whites) endeavor to predestine the dispensation of grace in such a way that they may each outgrow the others in greatness, and yet constantly maintain the balance of power!

² For examples of this see Mode, *Frontier Spirit in American Christianity*, Chap. VII, "Centralized Control in Church Government." Also Heermance, *Democracy in the Church*, pp. 108-109.

3 ROMAN CATHOLIC IMPERIALISM³

a *The Hierarchy*. The administrative system of the Roman Church corresponds with its theological claims as to the source of supreme spiritual authority. Perhaps it is appropriate that the Church Militant should be governed after the manner of the secular arm's military "line and staff" organization.

The captains and lieutenants in this spiritual army are at the immediate and total command of their superior officers. A Catholic priest may be removed or transferred on ten days' notice. Some canonical priests may receive a life appointment and can only be removed after a long process of ecclesiastical law. Most of the priests in the United States, however, are called missionary rectors or quasi-parish priests, which means that their rights are limited. A full canonical priest has rights of appointment and appeal governed by synodical and prosynodical examiners. If appeal to this board of examiners is not satisfactory the case may be brought before a new committee of parish priests. The appointing bishop is an ex-officio member of all these committees. As a last resort an appeal may be made to a metropolitan or archbishop. On the whole the Protestant minister would not consider the position of the parish priest an enviable one in regard to political rights.

In the diocese the bishop is the sole lawmaker and judge. "The episcopate is monarchical. By the will

³ The following notes are largely in explanation and justification of Chart II on page 50.

Sancti spiritus assistite nobis gratia
omnis benedictionis a seculis et a seculis amen

De hinc aut. p. in effusio supplicatio legit

[illegible]

Cod. Pal. Vindob. 1291, fol. 131^v.

PLATE III. WYCLIF'S TRACTATUS DE ECCLESIA (1378-1379)

owes its existence to his contest with "that horrible fiend" Gregory XI. With the exception of a fragment, no copy of this treatise has been preserved in England. But by the year 1407 its contents were known in Bohemia through the agency of a Bohemian student who transcribed Wyclif's manuscript at Oxford. This has been preserved as Codex 1294 of the Imperial Library of Vienna. This Codex contains 251 parchment leaves of four columns each. The column reproduced is from the tract "De Sancta Matre Ecclesia."

The possession and circulation of this manuscript was one of the counts for which John Huss was condemned at the Council of Constance. His own book *On the Church*, written in imitation of Wyclif, created in its day a most powerful sensation, whilst Wyclif's work of the same name, from which it was taken almost word for word, passed comparatively unnoticed.—From Johann Loserth on the *Tractatus de Ecclesia*.

of Christ the supreme authority does not belong to a college of priests or of bishops, but it resides in the single personality of the chief." ⁴

Christ's commission to the apostles (Matthew 18) is interpreted as conferring not only spiritual, but also supreme legislative, judicial, and coercive power. The pope is Christ's representative, and the bishop is the pope's representative. The pope alone is competent to appoint or remove a bishop. Cathedral chapters have no part or right in the selection of a bishop. At the pope's discretion he may call to trial a deposed bishop before an episcopal court called variously the Congregation of Regulars, the Propaganda, or the Inquisition. There is a hint of democratic forces at work, however, among the causes for which a bishop may be penalized or removed. Besides the commission of a grave crime, failure in health, or lack of requisite knowledge, a bishop may be deposed if he "meets with serious opposition from the faithful" (*malitia plebis*) or becomes a "cause of public scandal" (*scandalum populi*). Finally, a bishop may also be removed on the general ground of "irregularity" (*irregularitas*). The pope also may send a special representative, an "administrator apostolic," to a diocese having special problems. Usually this officer devotes his attention largely to temporal affairs, and hence his spiritual honors are limited.⁵ The diocesan bishop

⁴ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 2, p. 581.

⁵ "Even if he has episcopal orders, he cannot use the throne, nor the seventh candle, nor honorary deacons, although he has the right of the crozier. His name is not mentioned in the canon nor is the anniversary of his consecration commemorated."

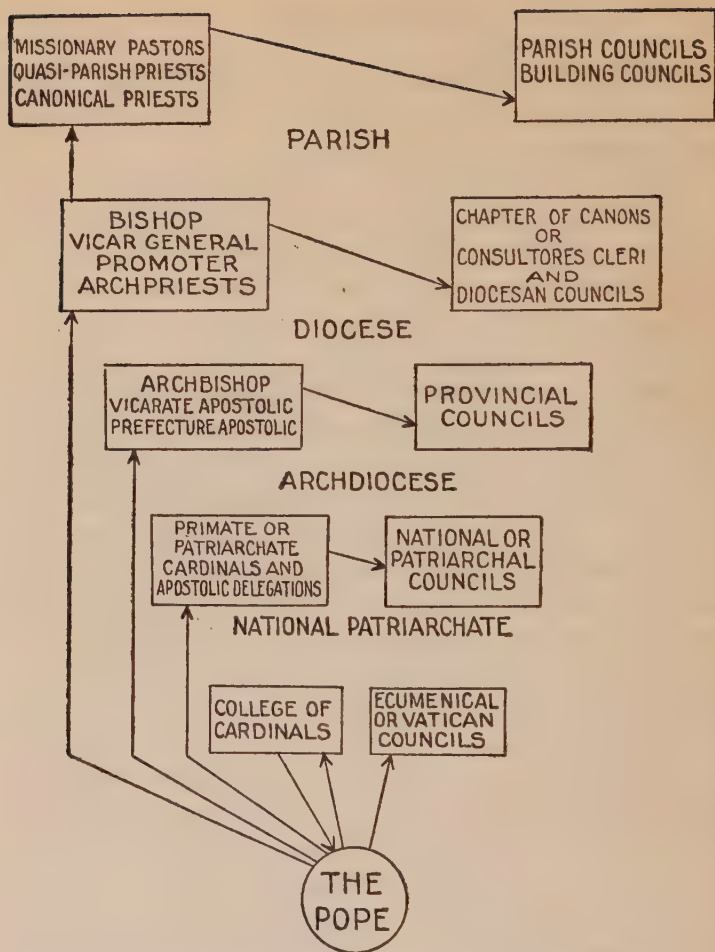


CHART II ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

"Such is the Constitution which our Saviour has given to His Church"; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 8, p. 748.

The Archbishop of Avignon said in a sermon during the Vatican Council in 1869, "that God had thrice become flesh, in Bethlehem, in the sacrifice of the Mass, and in the Vatican."

has the aid of a host of subordinates and "promoters" to assist him in legal matters, but whether he accepts or rejects their advice, authority resides in the bishop alone.

The source of episcopal authority comes not from the people but from the pope. The pope receives his authority by apostolic succession as the vicar of Christ. Hence it is held that supreme jurisdiction over the whole Church—clergy and laity—belongs to the pope by divine appointment. The pope's jurisdiction is gained by divine right and exercised through ecclesiastical law. According to canon law it is more disgraceful for the pope to be a heretic than to be a sinner. A heretic has ceased to be a member of the Church and therefore cannot be its head. A sinful pope, on the other hand, cannot be impeached. Such a pope "remains a member of the visible Church and is to be treated as a sinful unjust ruler *for whom we must pray but from whom we may not withdraw our obedience.*"⁶

As Christ's representative on earth the pope is the Church. "The Pope is neither above nor below the Church but in it as the center is in the circle, as the intellect and will are in the soul." Following out this analogy we may picture the organization of the Church as composed of voluntary and involuntary members. There will be "thinking" commanders, as well as "unthinking" members whose obedient routine duties correspond to individual human habits. (For a picture of this analogy see Chart III on page 53.) By an

⁶ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 4, p. 426.

interpretation of St. Paul's picture of the Church, it is held that Christ is in God, the pope is in Christ; and the organic unity of the Church is secured by the connection of all the members with the pope. The pope is the vine; clergy and laity are the branches. Those who reject the jurisdiction of the pope are no longer members of Christ's Kingdom. This comparison is evident in a statement from St. Ignatius which is often referred to: "Wheresoever the bishop shall appear there let the people be, even as where Jesus is there is the universal Church." "In regard to membership in the Church of Christ," says one authority, "the ultimate touchstone is to be found in communion with the Holy See."

b *The Councils.* The councils (see diagram page 50) may be viewed as the advisory staffs of the officers of the spiritual army. These councils, without exception, are deliberative or advisory only, having no final jurisdiction. The parish councils have largely to do with the financial and business concerns and care of the property of local churches. Their duties are closely restricted to the realm of temporal administration, and their privileges may be withdrawn or their decisions overruled by the spiritual authorities.

Bishops are required by ecclesiastical law to call a synod once a year. This council is composed of the appointees of the bishop—vicar-general, deans, canons, and a certain number of parish priests—called in to lend a deliberative voice in diocesan administration. They may discuss questions of moral and ecclesiastical

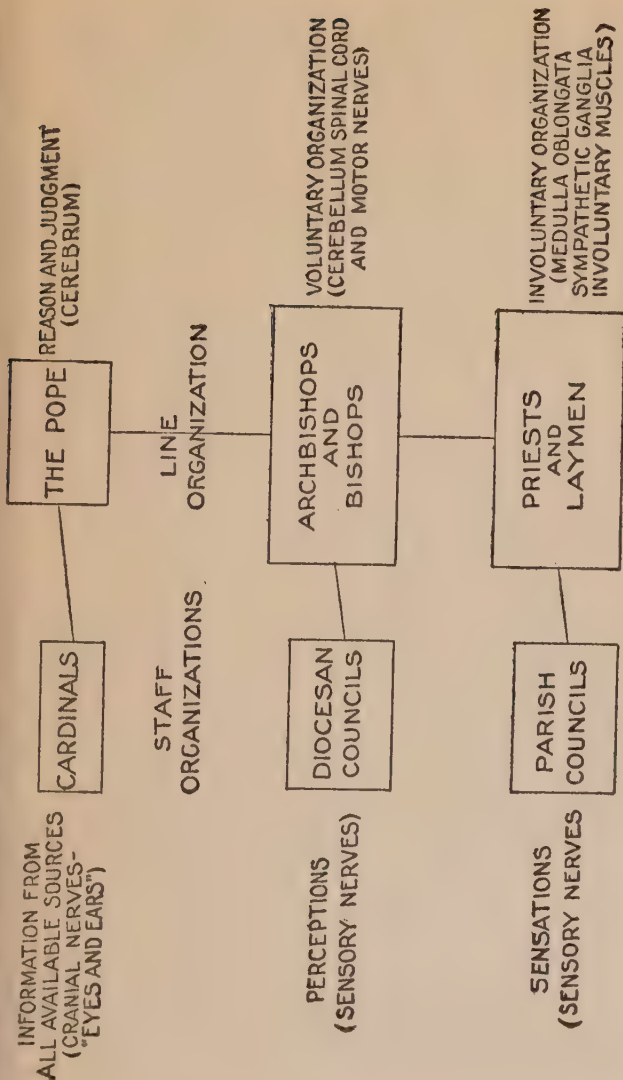


CHART III THE HUMAN ANALOGY

Adapted from a similar application to industrial organization described in Marshall, *Business Administration*, pp. 808-809.
 "The Pope is in the Church as the intellect and will are in the soul." (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 4, p. 426.) "When the Pope thinks it is God who is thinking in him," *The Catholic Citizen* (*Civiltà Cattolica*), 1870.

discipline and give advice as to appointments and matters of policy. Supreme and final authority, however, rests with the bishop. He is under no obligation to accept the conclusions of the council; he may reserve matters which he does not wish debated; and he may formulate and promulgate legislative statutes for the diocese at any time without reference to the council entirely by his own authority.

A world council of the Church may be summoned by the pope at his discretion. Such a council is composed of representatives of all the nations and all departments of the hierarchy, chosen by the pope to assemble for the discussions of the world problems of the Church. Like other councils its action is purely advisory, but if its laws and decisions are approved by the pope they become legally authoritative over all the Catholics in the world. The pope's ratification is necessary to determine whether or no the council's deliberations represent the will of God. "The bishops in council assembled are not commissioned as are our modern parliaments, to control and limit the power of the sovereign, or head of the state, but to give additional weight to and secure the execution of papal decisions previously issued and regarded as fully authoritative. All the powers, orders, jurisdiction and membership in the Council come from above—directly from the Pope, ultimately from God."⁷

To the Catholic a council sitting in judgment upon the vicar of Christ is unthinkable. A council in opposition to the pope would not be representative of the

⁷ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 4, p. 426.

whole Church. Apart from the pope such a council is to be regarded as "a lifeless trunk, a rump parliament, no matter how well attended it may be."

The long history of these ecumenical councils is a tragic one—tragic in the almost utter failure which has attended efforts to democratize the Church. The attempt at the Council of Constance to provide for more frequent and regular meetings of representative assemblies failed, and similar suggestions since have met with severe papal denunciation and the enactment of ecclesiastical laws against such procedure. During nineteen centuries only twenty ecumenical councils have taken place. General councils thus have no part in the normal government of the Catholic Church.

Corresponding to the diocesan councils and cathedral chapters for the lower clergy, so the pope has his staff of advisers. These are the cardinals. They are nominated by the pope at a secret consistory. All nations are supposed to be represented. The ceremonies attending the appointment of cardinals are of universal interest and unusual significance. At the next secret consistory after nomination, takes place the ceremony known as the "opening of the mouth" (*aperitio oris*) and at the end of the same consistory the "closing of the mouth" (*clausura oris*) symbolizing a cardinal's duties to keep the secrets of his office and give wise counsel to the pope. Special privileges belong to this office. The pope is a cardinal's only judge. Cardinals may issue indulgences of two hundred days, whereas archbishops and bishops are restricted to one hundred and to fifty days respectively.

The greatest power granted the College of Cardinals is the election of the pope. They must proceed according to the ancient system of papal election, which the pope alone may modify. The College of Cardinals cannot make laws, nor create cardinals or bishops, nor issue commissions to legates. In case of grave danger to the Church, however, they could issue urgent temporary orders, and provide by secret vote for necessary ways and means of meeting the situation. In general, according to the human analogy the cardinal's functions correspond to the specialized duties of the cranial nerves. Cardinals are the chiefs of those officers known in the ancient oriental despotisms as "the king's eyes and ears."

c *The Laity*. Logically if the clergy are depositories of sacred authority there must be some one over whom authority is exercised. The layman was created to fill this requirement of the scholastic logic. In obedience to Christ's teaching commission to the apostles it is the duty of the laity to be instructed. The first duty of the Christian is to believe what he is taught by the priests. We are less concerned with the details of religious duties, observance of the sacraments, etc., than with the layman's political responsibilities. According to ecclesiastical law the laity are regarded as incapable of any real jurisdiction in the church.⁸ The

⁸ Cf. the following passage from the canon law, *De Constitutionis*, Chap. X, Book 1, Title 2: "Attendentes quod laicis etiam religionis super ecclesiis et personis ecclesiasticis nulla sit attributa facultas, quos obsequendi manet necessitas non auctoritas imperandi"; i. e., the laity have no authority over things or persons ecclesiastical; it is their duty to obey, not to command.

layman's chief duty lies in obedience and conformity. "The duties which affect both laity and clergy consist in submission and obedience to legitimate hierarchical authority: the popes, the bishops and, in a proportionate degree, the parish priests and other acting ecclesiastics. The decisions, judgments, orders, and directions of our lawful pastors, in matters of doctrine, morals, discipline and administration, must be accepted and obeyed by all members of the Christian society."⁹

In religious observances the rights of the layman are carefully distinguished from those of the clergy. Ordinarily the canon law forbids the layman from praying publicly, reading any part of the liturgy, approaching within the sanctuary, or serving as priest at the altar. Circumstances, however, have led to the gradual democratizing of Catholic religious services.¹⁰ In case of necessity laymen are allowed to perform certain minor religious duties. In many churches laymen act as choir members, sacristans, and chanters, serve low masses and *missæ cantatæ*, and enter the sanctuary as acolytes, masters of ceremonies, or even as readers. On these occasions they are given a special clerical garb to distinguish them from the clergy and thus recognize and safeguard the principle of excluding the laity. Although the laity are allowed to form fraternities for the cultivation of piety

⁹ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 8, p. 748.

¹⁰ For example, the Pope Pius X Institute of Liturgical Music, New York City, has for its ultimate purpose the training of all people in pews of Catholic churches of the future to take part in the worship by actually singing the mass, and not as now just listening to others. The aim is to revive the popular use of Gregorian tunes in all Catholic churches as urged by Pope Pius X.

and devotion, their assemblies are ordinarily under the direction of the clergy.

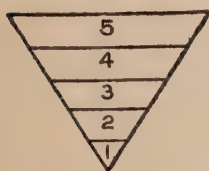
The political rights of the laity are entirely concerned with temporal affairs, such as the right of patronage and the administration of church property. A secular government may gain the right to nominate bishops by concordat.¹¹ This is the case in such Catholic countries as Spain, Portugal, Chile, and Argentina. A private individual may gain a right to determine clerical appointments by patronage, conferring a benefice or establishing a religious Foundation.¹² Care of the temporal goods of churches is intrusted almost everywhere to laymen acting as "parish councils" or "building councils." Their duties are carefully regulated by rules drawn up by the spiritual authorities, and their appointment is subject to the approval of the bishop. This is because the bishop owns the property. The titles to all churches, lands, school-houses, and real estate are held by the bishop, who must transmit them by will to his successor in office. The bishop is the owner and not the trustee because there is no incorporated society. The purpose of this

¹¹ By the recent concordat (1924) entered into with Bavaria, four archbishops are to be supported at the expense of the state, the entire educational system to be administered by the Church, and the Vatican given authority to say what shall and what shall not be taught in the universities of Munich and Wurzburg in such departments as history, philosophy, and religion.

¹² Right of patronage still prevails also in the Church of England, where nearly seven thousand churches are thus maintained. The Committee on Patronage, although suggesting that parishioners should have more voice in the selection of their pastor, "accepts the principle of private patronage and does not recommend any fundamental or drastic change."

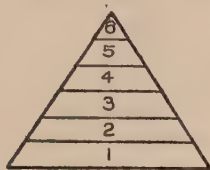
arrangement is to prevent the laity from resorting to legal interference, as they might do were the title vested in a corporation. The laity have no legal right in the canon law to aid in the administration of property; it is simply a privilege granted to them by the clergy.¹³

d *Catholicism and Democratic Representation.* A military organization produces immediate efficiency, but it lacks the elements of permanent stability, and is unsuited to the attainment of the purposes of a spiritual society. The accompanying illustration shows the unstable equilibrium of an imperial as compared with a democratic form of government.



Monarchy

- 1 King
- 2 Army
- 3 Nobility
- 4 Capital
- 5 Labor



Democracy

- 1 Labor
- 2 Capital
- 3 Army
- 4 Congress
- 5 Cabinet
- 6 President



Empire

- 1 Pope
- 2 Cardinal
- 3 Patriarch
- 4 Archbishop
- 5 Bishop
- 6 Priest
- 7 People

CHART IV DIAGRAM SHOWING INSTABILITY OF IMPERIAL FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

The Church Militant is professedly undemocratic. "The authority established in the Church holds its com-

¹³ See *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. VIII, p. 748 ff.; *Conn. Plen.* Baltim., III n. 284; Strong, *Civil Law and Church Polity*.

mission from above and not from below. The pope and the bishops exercise their powers as the successors of the men who were chosen by Christ in person. They are not, as the Presbyterian theory of Church government teaches, the delegates of the flock; their warrant is received from the Shepherd, not from the sheep. The view that ecclesiastical authority is ministerial only and derived by delegation from the faithful was expressly condemned by Pius VI (1794) in his Constitution *Auctorem Fidei* and on the renovation of the error by certain Modernist writers Pius X reiterated the condemnation in the Encyclical on the errors of the Modernists. In this sense the government of the Church is not democratic.”¹⁴

The origin of words is sometimes suggestive of their true meanings. In the Greek the words meaning the people (δῆμος) and the laity (λαός) were synonyms. Hence democracy literally means rule by the laity. It has been the Protestant contention that the Church cannot fulfil its true purposes as an imperial institution.

It should be noted, however, that attempted ecclesiastical control of all the laymen's religious activities is not confined to Catholicism. Often the efforts of Protestant denominational secretaries are also directed toward stifling all religious and social activities not directly under sectarian control. An evidence of this is to be seen in the following resolution passed by a Conference of Sectarian Leaders in Men's Work:

That it be the sense of this body that it is inadvisable at this time for us to promote interdenominational conventions on

¹⁴ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, p. 754.

men's work, but that denominational conventions are indispensable prerequisites to any permanent good results from interdenominational conventions of men.¹⁵

This fear of democracy on the part of denominational secretaries is undoubtedly due to the fact that the denominations themselves are not democratically organized. In other words, they are so unsoundly organized that the least disturbance of the *status quo* would disrupt the whole organization. Care must be taken, therefore, that no new wine is put into the old bottles, because they cannot stand the pressure of the progress produced by great free, popular, democratic movements among laymen.¹⁶

This action recalls to the student of church history the drastic schemes of the Fourth Lateran Council to repress heresy and reform the discipline of the Church. One of its seventy canons sought to restrain the clergy "from abusing the authority of the Church through excess of zeal." Another opposed the establishment of new religious orders of priests or laymen. Innocent III, like modern sectarian authorities, recommended that the Dominicans and Franciscans, for example, "affiliate themselves to one of the recognized regular fraternities." ¹⁷

A fundamental principle of organization is that the system shall serve the end for which it is devised. The purpose of the Church is to nourish the moral and

¹⁵ Resolution of Conference of Denominational Leaders, Philadelphia, December 19, 1924.

¹⁶ See also Chapters V and IX on "Denominationalism" and "Democracy."

¹⁷ Tout, *Empire and Papacy*, p. 437.

spiritual life of persons. The development of moral personality would be impossible without free will, and without liberty to learn to exercise that will in social relations. Democracy provides that liberty of conscience and that freedom of intelligence which are necessary to the growth of moral personality. The Church organized on an autocratic basis therefore defeats the very purpose for which it exists. To moralize and spiritualize human life the Church must adopt the principles and practices of democracy.

e *Catholicism in the Modern World*. The Great War accentuated the struggle between imperialism and democracy. The centralization of power in the nations to meet the military exigency encouraged the forces of autocracy. Bureaucracy, censorship, confiscation of property, imprisonment of objectors, draft of free citizens, all are illustrations. The revival of a program of military authority proved favorable to the Church Militant. "Politically it occupied a better position at the close of the struggle than at the beginning; without materially impairing the prestige of the Catholic Center Party in Germany, Catholic Belgium had been vindicated, Catholic Poland had been reborn, Portugal had resumed diplomatic relations with the Holy See, Great Britain had sent an envoy to the Vatican, and a more cordial attitude toward the Church had been evinced by both France and Italy. The Vatican obtained from the Peace Congress a solemn guarantee of the inviolability of Catholic missions abroad." ¹⁸

¹⁸ Hayes, *History of the Great War*, p. 410.

TABLE II. The World Empire of the Roman Catholic Church*

LATIN RITE									LATIN RITE								
EUROPE	Patriarchates	Archdioceses	Dioceses	Exempt Dioceses	Apostolic Delegations	Vicariates Apostolic	Prefectures Apostolic	Prelatures and Abbeys Nullius	AMERICA	Archdioceses	Dioceses	Exempt Dioceses	Apostolic Delegations	Vicariates Apostolic	Prefectures Apostolic	Prelatures and Abbeys Nullius	
Austria-Hungary		11	40	1				2	Argentina	1	7			1	1		
Belgium		1	5						Bolivia	1	3						
Bosnia		1	3						Brazil	4	20					2	
Bulgaria				1		1			Canada	8	20			4			
Denmark							1		Lesser Antilles	1	3		1	1			
England		1	15						Chile	1	3			1	1		
France		17	67						Colombia	4	10			2	3		
Germany		5	14	6		3	2		Greater Antilles	2	7	2	1	1			
Greece		2	6	1	1				Ecuador	1	6			4			
Ireland		4	25						Central America	1	4			1			
Italy	2	12	156	75				11	Guanas					2	1		
Luxemburg				1					Mexico	8	22		1	1			
Malta				2					Newfoundland	1	2						
Monaco				1					Paraguay	1							
Montenegro				1					Peru	1	8			1	1		
Netherlands		1	4						St. Pierre Is.						1		
Norway						1			United States	14	76		1	2	1		
Portugal	1	2	9						Uruguay	1	2						
Romania		1		1					Venezuela	1	5						
Russia		2	14						Totals	50	90	2	4	21	11	2	
Scotland		1	4	1					ORIENTAL RITES								
Serbia			1														
Spain	1	9	47			1		1									
Sweden						1											
Switzerland					5			2									
Turkey		1	4	2	1	1		1									
Totals	4	96	414	98	2	9	4	17									
ASIA	Patriarchates	Archdioceses	Dioceses	Exempt Dioceses	Apostolic Delegations	Vicariates Apostolic	Prefectures Apostolic	Prelatures and Abbeys Nullius									
China			1			36	4		Armenian Rite—								
Corea						1			Austria								
India and Indo-China	1	7	22	1	1	15	4		Russia								
Japan		1	3				1		Asia								
Peru				1	1				Africa								
Turkey	1	1	1	1	3	3	1		Coptic Rite—Africa								
Totals	2	9	27	3	5	55	10		Greek Bulgarian Rite—								
OCEANIA AND AFRICA	Patriarchates	Archdioceses	Dioceses	Exempt Dioceses	Apostolic Delegations	Vicariates Apostolic	Prefectures Apostolic	Prelatures and Abbeys Nullius	Macedonia								
Africa		2	10	2	1	36	24	1	Thrace								
Australia		4	14	1		3		1	Greek Melchite Rite—Asia								
Malay Archipelago						1	3		Greek Rumanian Rite—Austria								
New Zealand		1	3						Greek Ruthenian Rite—								
Philippine Is. and Hawaii	1	8			1	1	1		Austria								
Polynesia						11	5		Russia								
Totals		8	35	3	2	52	33	2	Syrian Rite—Asia								
									Syr-Chaldean Rite—Asia								
									Syr-Malabar Rite—Asia								
									Syr-Maronite Rite—Asia								
									Totals	6	20	52	2	3			

*Conspectus of the Diocesan System of the Catholic Church as given by the *Catholic Encyclopedia* in 1909.
†Since suppressed by the Soviet Government.
‡The Ruthenian bishop of the United States has neither a diocese properly so-called, nor ordinary jurisdiction.

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All these advantages, however, were not gained without some concessions to the principles of republicanism. The war to annihilate autocracy and "make the world safe for democracy" overthrew no less than a dozen monarchies, establishing republics in their stead, and saw the initiation of radical election reforms in many countries. In addition the war gave a great impetus to popular education, and to the development and application not only of the physical but also of the social sciences, such as economics, sociology, and politics. Impatience with autocracy in civil government generates a similar impatience with an imperial Church. The Jesuits have been excluded, as inimical to the welfare of the state, from France, Switzerland, Mexico, and Germany, though not yet from the United States. The principle of the separation of Church and state received new emphasis at the Peace Congress. Subsequent treaties have secured religious toleration in Poland and the Balkans, on the whole an influence favorable to Protestantism. To meet these modern liberal movements, both within and without the Church, has meant concessions to the social and political ideals of the people, to socialism, nationalism, "self-determination," and modernism in Catholic theology, which hold portentous meanings for the future of the Church. The traditional methods which have been resorted to by the Vatican for the defense of autocracy—namely, (1) "a high pressure of sentimental devotion";¹⁹ (2) "unlimited episcopal

¹⁹ See Sheldon, H. C., *Sacerdotalism in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 277. Also, Figgis, J. N., *The Fellowship of the Mystery*.

patronage as a potent weapon in the hands of the Pope"; (3) "a radical system of intellectual surveillance and restriction"—seem to be slowly breaking down before the pressure of modern democratic public opinion.

The very organization and successful continuance of the League of Nations is moreover subversive of the aim of the Church to reestablish a new Holy Roman Empire for the whole world. We may expect papal autocracy and economic imperialism to be united in opposition to the independent coöperation of the world's peoples in a democratic League of Nations. It is the avowed purpose of Pius XI to make the Vatican the center of international diplomacy and the adjudicator of international disputes. The pope's decisions are to serve the purpose of a World Court, and the Vatican Council take the place of the Assembly of the League of Nations. This is the meaning and purpose of the present pope's proposal to convene an ecumenical council "to find an appropriate remedy for the ills which have followed the upheaval of civil society, to lay down the laws of justice which should guide a world court, and with authority over 400,000,000 people, to lay down injunctions to prevent civilization from cutting its own throat." The success of the League of Nations, therefore, will be a blow to the political ambitions of Roman Catholicism.

The governor of a Catholic monastery, when asked concerning the democracy of his organization, replied that it could not help being democratic because "the abbot must live with the brethren." If democracy is

not false to human nature, then, it must be present to some extent in any human organization. Suggestions of democracy in its elemental forms have not been absent from Catholicism. We see it in the councils of advisers, in lay participation in minor religious ceremonies, in the development of liberal movements in Catholic theology, in the formation of Catholic socialist societies and Catholic political parties. These are influences which stimulate the democratic hope and give a restricted training in democratic practices and ideals. No important elements of democracy, however, are secured or made imperative by ecclesiastical law. The degree to which the spirit of democracy is kept alive in the Church depends on the character of the secular state in which the Church exists. The democratic state stimulates the spirit of democracy in both clergy and laity. "The people of the United States are democratic, in feeling, in institutions, in all their sympathies and in all their ideals. The priestly church, the aristocratic church, is here under immense initial embarrassment."²⁰ "And there is a possibility that the spread of democratic sentiments in the secular sphere may breed ultimately somewhat of a distaste for a centralized absolutism in the ecclesiastical sphere."²¹

It is possible that practical political adjustments will precede the reshaping of Catholic theology in harmony with the progress of the centuries in political theory.

²⁰ From published sermon of the Rev. G. A. Gordon.

²¹ Sheldon, *Sacerdotalism in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 281,

and religious thought. The future hope of Christian union and of peaceful relations between Church and state depends upon liberalizing—democratizing—Christianizing—from within, the administrative system of the Roman Catholic Church.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1 Define and defend imperialism.

2 Why does Barrow say that "This political unity [imperialism] doth not well accord with the nature and genius of the evangelical 'dispensation'?"

3 If imperialism is unsuited to the internal administration of denominations, should it be practised in their external relations? Describe the results of imperialism in international diplomacy? In denominational diplomacy.

4 Show how imperialism has been a cause of sectarianism. If imperialism in affairs of the state produces the "greatest of flunkeyites," is there any reason why it might necessarily be also a cause of religious indifference?

5 In what ways is denominational rivalry analogous to international rivalry? Is it true that the effort to maintain the "balance of power" among the denominations leads to "spiritual malpractice" and a "forced calculus of souls"?

6 In parallel columns make lists showing the elements of autocracy and democracy in the Catholic Church. Do the same for your own denomination, if you have one.

7 Was the World War of 1914-1918 on the whole favorable to the retention of imperialism or to the advance of democracy in church government? Can imperialists rebuild the world? Can imperialists rebuild the Church?

8 What do you think of the implications of Bishop Mc-

Connell's question, "Is autocracy or aristocracy or paternalism any more lovely in an ecclesiastical organization than in a political or industrial system?"

9 To what extent have the methods used by the Catholic Church for the defense of autocracy, namely, "sentimental devotion," "official patronage," "intellectual restriction," and authoritative control or suppression of voluntary laymen's movements, been used by the Protestant denominations?

10 Is Protestant union to come by way of imperial centralization? If the imperial form of union is to be rejected, what are the alternatives?

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CHAPTER IV

COSMOPOLITANISM

I ITS POWER IN THE CHURCH LIFE OF THE PRESENT DAY

Cosmopolitanism may be defined as a theory of government which holds that certain common interests, economic, intellectual, religious, bind citizens together so closely that they will and should finally prove powerful enough to break down all national and state loyalties. It is spiritual unity based on common ideals. It is intra-national or super-national, and if completely developed would supersede internationalism entirely. The organization of citizens of different nations, on the basis of a central idea, would ultimately issue in the dissolution of national ties, and the establishment of a central authority entirely independent of national states.

The power of cosmopolitanism to produce in ever-increasing numbers people who are perfectly at home in every sectarian country is not to be denied. The evidences of its work in wiping out distinctions and providing common-mindedness in religious and social ideals are on every hand. Within the churches a consciousness is growing that the distinctions between Protestant denominations are somewhat lacking in differences. Readers of books upon religion find them-

selves enlightened and uplifted by the work of writers claimed by many different communions. Side by side on the shelves of a well-informed Protestant minister are volumes of reference representing the labors of scholarly Baptists, Episcopalians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and most of the other groupings which together make up what is known as the Protestant Church.

It is not strange that much which once set them apart seems to be evaporating from the life of the churches of to-day. A culture in which all Americans share is breaking down the barriers. And so it comes that the present generation is characterized by a desire for unity manifested in many ways.

Dr. McComb, in his book on the *Psychology of the Sects*, enumerates some of the chief forces producing like-mindedness in religious thought and motives:

(1) Public opinion in the community. Such forces as the press, books, public speakers, which go to produce a common mind on social questions.

(2) Common life in cities. Each city, or country community, tends to produce its own type of life; the effect of a common environment reflected in *character types*.

(3) The public school.

(4) The Sunday-school. Like-mindedness produced by a common curriculum. Hence the effort of denominational authorities to sectarianize the Sunday-school lessons.

(5) Music and ritual. The services in large Protestant churches are strikingly similar.

(6) Modern sermons stress practical ethical issues and avoid doctrinal matters, excepting occasional passing controversies.

(7) Common missionary endeavor.

(8) Common community welfare movements: local hospitals, civic enterprises, charity organizations, Christian Endeavor, Y. M. C. A., etc., etc.

In the *Indiana Survey of Religious Education*, p. 167, the community interests of 193 Indiana Sunday-schools are given. Among the various types of co-operation are community music, pageantry, and art; community banquets and picnics; sunrise prayer-meeting; social settlement work; coöperation with city health commissioners; city athletic league; community Christmas tree; religious census; union meetings, etc., etc. The churches coöperated in twenty or more forms of educational, religious, social, and recreational activity; and lent their united efforts to twenty-eight different kinds of community welfare organizations.

There are many forces tending toward producing like-mindedness and unity among the church people of all our communities. These may be summed up as:

(1) The relentless pressure of socializing processes.

(2) The growing sentiment of Christian coöperation and union.

Attempts have been made by the sects to control these socializing processes in their own interests. But such steps must ever be ineffective.¹ Consider how

¹ "Edmund Gosse, in his *Father and Son*, relates how, when he was a boy, his father told him he was going to marry again. The boy saw there was something his father was ashamed of, so at last he asked in accents of horror, 'Father, is she a paedo-Baptist?' And she

futile and ridiculous it would be for each of the 280 Protestant sects to try to enforce the regulations and restrictions as to marriage which the Catholic Church insists upon. Sectarian loyalty has often prompted migrations of large groups to a frontier country in order to preserve distinctive customs of dress and toilette, e. g., foot-washing. But there is no longer any geographical frontier; the radio would reach them with insistent heresies even at the North Pole. The modern frontier is one of social and moral content; if freedom for individuality is to be found, it is not by running away, but by challenging the governmental conditions of modern life. If cosmopolitanism must come, let it be democratic and not imperial.

2 FUNCTIONAL AND IMPERIAL COSMOPOLITANISM

Functionalism in its larger reaches might be regarded as an aspect of cosmopolitanism. When the union of workers on the basis of occupation extends beyond national lines, it becomes one of the interests promoting the cosmopolitan view. The International Workingmen's Association of Karl Marx, and the

was. Until that moment he had believed all paedo-Baptists to be wicked. The teaching of this sort of orthodoxy is not only very harmful to children but, more important, it encourages intolerance and bad forms of the herd instinct. When a school accepts as part of its task the teaching of an opinion which cannot be intellectually defended, it is compelled to give the impression that those who hold an opposite opinion are wicked, since otherwise it cannot generate the passion required for repelling the assaults of reason. Thus for the sake of orthodoxy the children are rendered uncharitable, intolerant, cruel, and bellicose."—Berrand Russell, in *Century Magazine*, December, 1924.

later International Congresses of Socialists, the International Chamber of Commerce, and the International Bankers' Associations are illustrations.

It is important to note that imperialism, functionalism, and cosmopolitanism are not mutually exclusive but may be found dwelling together in various proportions in the same historical period. Certain organizations combine all three principles.

"The Roman Catholic Church in the United States," for example, "is recognized and protected in such a manner as to rigidly exclude any democratic or representative aspirations of the lay element. The laity in the administration of their societies have a power inferior to that assigned to them in Prussian parochial administration, and even to that attributed to the laymen in Italy." ²

Here, then, is a strictly functional organization operating for the benefit of ecclesiastics. But it also exhibits the other two principles, cosmopolitanism and imperialism.

Ancient Rome and the Holy Roman Empire of the Middle Ages produced a cosmopolitanism within their bosoms more pronounced and self-conscious than anything of the kind which the world was to know for centuries afterwards. One Church and Faith, one Empire, and one body of neo-classical enlightenment—such was cosmopolitan Europe in the later Middle Ages. In that cosmopolitanism was found a measure of justification for imperial domination. Under the sway of the Emperor unity of culture and feeling was achieved and the conflicts of national spirit were quieted. Unfortunately for the picture,

² Bevan, *Gospel and Government*, p. 285.

however, this *imperial cosmopolitanism* was not entirely natural and spontaneous, but was imposed by authority from above; and such is commonly the sanction of imperial cosmopolitanism. To be genuine, cosmopolitanism must come by a natural disappearance of nationalism, not by its destruction at the hands of imperial masters.³

3. COSMOPOLITANISM AND DEMOCRACY

The principle of cosmopolitanism must be democratically conceived. It has been pointed out that the idea of imperial cosmopolitanism is a world state in which the centralized authority is exercised directly upon local governments without the intermediation of separate divisions of power. In this way it would wipe out not only racial but also national and territorial divisions. Imperial cosmopolitanism provides for unity, but not for variety of opinion and cultures. It is cosmopolitanism, not democracy properly understood, which holds the "menace of mediocrity." The necessity of cultural cosmopolitanism, the dissemination of common knowledge and ideals, must be admitted. But the unity of opinion it engenders is not by itself an adequate principle upon which a government can be established. Government must be of such a nature as to provide both for unity and also for variety of culture; for cosmopolitanism but also for individualism; for a world loyalty but also for national loyalties; for devotion to a universal church, but also for civic and community integrity. It has been

³ Potter, *International Organization*, p. 303.

charged as a defect against the Catholic Church that a narrow parochialism (loyalty to priest and parish church) too often passes into indifference or contravention of true local secular citizenship. It does this in proportion as the doctrine of imperial cosmopolitanism is preached and practised.

But it is just this same doctrine which is preached and practised by loyal Protestant sectarians. Denominational leaders plead for loyalty not to the *local community* but to the *universal communion*. This is exactly what the Catholic priest pleads for; the name of such a doctrine is "imperial cosmopolitanism." How this principle works to divide communities is shown in the accompanying diagram.

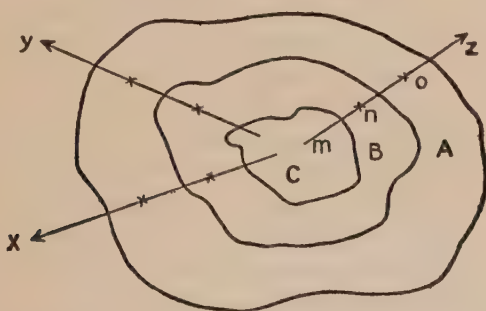


CHART V COSMOPOLITANISM VERSUS REGIONALISM

If M, N, and O are three churchmen, the doctrine of *imperial cosmopolitanism*, or *sectarian communion*, holds that M, N, and O have a greater interest in common with each other than each has with his fellow-citizens of C, B, and A respectively, who belong to

different denominations or none at all; that if X, Y, Z, are different denominational groups, then the members of X, Y, and Z respectively have a greater interest in common as Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians, or Catholics, than they have with their respective fellow-citizens, in A, B, and C, who do not belong to these denominational groups.

The peril for our civilization lies precisely here; that this neo-medieval religious cosmopolitanism is at present tending to proceed in substantial and dominant isolation from the old geographical or regional units. The *communions* are threatening to divide and destroy the *communities*.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1 What is cosmopolitanism? How is it related to the study of interchurch government?

2 Enumerate some of the forces tending to produce like-mindedness and unity among the citizens of your community. Among the adherents of the different denominations.

3 Is cosmopolitanism or sectarianism more in harmony with Christian principles? Or is there a place for both?

4 What justification can be offered by sectarian groups for opposing the forces of secular cosmopolitanism?

5 Define functionalism, and illustrate its application to church government.

6 What are the relations between functional and imperial cosmopolitanism?

7 In placing loyalty to the *communion* above loyalty to the *community* are the Protestant sects assuming the same claim to the superiority of the spiritual above the temporal power which is put forward by the Catholic Church?

8 On what issues, if any, may the denominations rightfully advocate religious cosmopolitanism as opposed to secular community loyalties?

9 Have you ever been called upon to choose between denominational loyalty and civic loyalty? On what issue? How did you decide?

10 Is one ever justified in placing party loyalty above love of country, or national loyalty above love of humanity?

Should loyalty to the partial aspects of truth, represented by the peculiar tenets of one sect, ever be permitted to supersede loyalty to the whole body of Christian truth accepted by all the Protestant churches?

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CHAPTER V

REGIONALISM

I RELIGIOUS IMPLICATIONS OF REGIONALISM.

Individualism, unhampered by social bonds, results in anarchy. Family loyalty becomes pernicious when it prohibits loyalties to a larger group. The next larger group above the family with which we are familiar is the neighborhood. As, psychologically, the sense of personal identity and the social consciousness develop together in reciprocal relations, so, in an ethical religion, the commands "Love God" and "Love Man" are inseparable. Jesus not only inculcated love of neighbor as self, but he was specific about who these neighbors were. A neighbor is a person who is needy and near: the poor at the rich young ruler's door, for whom he was to sell his goods; the wounded traveler ministered to by the Good Samaritan. A neighbor is not necessarily a person who is a citizen of the same state or a member of the same church, but a person who lives at the same place. It is conceivable that if all the characters in the parable of the Good Samaritan had shown the same community spirit, the priest, Levite, and Samaritan might have united their forces, and not only given the needy man a better room at the inn, but also have completely protected all travelers in that robber-infested neighbor-

hood. The parable seems to teach that community problems should be settled on the basis of community needs, regardless of racial or ecclesiastical affiliations, and that a community's needs should not be neglected because of the supposed necessity of loyally going down to Jerusalem or Samaria or New York or Philadelphia or Chicago or St. Louis. Moreover, just as the individual must be true to his family, and the family a part of a neighborhood, so the neighborhood, whether rural or urban or city or state, is just a unit in a larger territorial organization. The individual neighborhood or state can attain the highest degree of social efficiency only by fulfilling its duties as a part of the larger national community.

For the average churchman the Kingdom of God should be embodied in the local community. This is not to say that his vision should be narrowed. On the contrary his vision is often of the spread-eagle sort. He overlooks the opportunities for benevolence which are near at hand. He believes in foreign missions sometimes and contributes impulsively to the support of men in China who are paid a better salary than the pastor in his own community. He applauds the establishment of hospitals for the heathen, but he ignores the ravages of disease in his own community. The divine imperative is that each local community be first organized by those who live there for local well-being.¹

2 ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS OF REGIONALISM.

The general name for those theories that emphasize the importance of locality—of native place—in the de-

¹ Wilson, *The Country Community*, p. 136.

velopment of a governmental system, is "regionalism." Its point of view may be stated in two terse sentences:

a. "No political design for the common weal of all, or any part or section or class of mankind, can hope for enduring success that long ignores the permanence and priority of the geographical units (home, civic, regional, national, state) over any other kind of grouping whatsoever."

b. "No political design for the common weal of all, or any part or class, can hope for enduring success if it is based upon these geographical units only."²

Cosmopolitanism emphasizes the fact that men are united by universal ideals; regionalism calls attention to the fact that men live in space and time, and must recognize the necessity of spacial relationships. By over-stressing the universal, the cosmopolitan becomes a man without a particular country. For the sake of an abstract idea he forgets the necessity of local experience and coöperation and neglects the just interests of his own family, locality, nation, and race.

Regionalism seeks to reëmphasize the need of particular local experience, without which any universal coöperation becomes an empty name. To have a true social cosmos we must have a richly ordered series of coöperant, concrete, individual, living units; not an empty, abstractly sentimental generalization. A true cosmopolitan must first be a devoted member of the family, then a good citizen in the life of the neighborhood, town, region, state, or nation—an ardent patriot.

² Branford, *Science of Government*.

The love of mankind needs to be particularized in order to have any power over life and action. Just as there can be no true friendship except toward this or that individual, so there can be no true public spirit that is not localized in some way. The man whose desire to serve his kind is not centered primarily in some home, radiating from it to a community, a municipality, and a nation, presumably has no effectual desire to serve his kind at all.

But there is no reason why this localized philanthropy should take the form of jealousy of other localities, or institutions, or a desire to fight them. Those in whom it is strongest are every day expressing it in good works which benefit their fellow citizens without interfering with other social groups, communities or nations.³

There are two schools of political thought in the Church to-day, one of which insists on the priority of sectarian divisions, just as there are two schools in the secular state, one of which insists on the priority of party and class interests. The other point of view in both Church and state recognizes the necessity for differences of interests, but it insists that proper emphasis be given, in the solving of political problems, to what may be broadly called geographical conceptions or categories.

Regionalism draws its argument from many fields of thought. As to the preservation of community consciousness, it points out that sociologists are generally agreed in insisting that, next to the family, the neighborhood is the necessary basis of sound associational life. This principle also is of large moral significance.

³ Green, *Principles of Political Obligation*, Sec. 171.

Its underlying meaning is that of the ethical importance of the organized community and the moral claims of the latter upon the devotion of its members. Arguments are also drawn from the fields of psychology, philosophy, and religion. Disregard of larger community obligations can only result in the unethical pharisaism which Jesus anathematized in his immortal classic on human neighborliness. Neighborhood duties and relationships are necessary to particularize, to give point and reality to the universal precepts of an ethical religion. Denominationalism emptied of home and citizenship, of patriotism and race, would be as vague, unsatisfying, and unfruitful a religious belief or condition as the pantheism of the Orient.⁴

The psychological basis of these categories lies in the common objects, interests, knowledge, traditions, and ideals—inescapable mental and geographical horizons shared by all—which give each community and nation its own distinction and uniqueness. The local community has a certain inalienable authority over all its members, an authority not possessed by separate groups or societies in the community. This is due to the fact that the individuals who compose the community are unified selves, sharing the life-necessities of the same locality or social situation. Just as the state unifies moral interests by providing a common clearing-house for their adjustment, so a religion which ramifies into all the nooks and corners of the moral

⁴ Cf. *Sectarianism and the Caste System*. See "Caste in the Churches," *Literary Digest*, July 19, 1924.

life, and sets standards for all social relations, cannot depend upon a divided institution to unify its moral claims upon individuals.

The relationship of selves in their common community interests is shown in the accompanying diagram (Chart VI, p. 86). A single individual self, or a group with common interests, is shown at A. The physical, social, moral, and religious values which are limited and necessary, and can be attained by all the people or groups only by sharing, are shown at a, b, c, d, etc. The individual selves are indicated by the eccentric figures, which unite necessarily to form the community represented by the large circle B. The values which are shared in the community are shown at Figure C, where the religious and character values are seen to underlie and encircle all the others. Religion cannot escape, therefore, any more than the state, from the necessity of being community-centered.

The following quotations will give concreteness to the problems and principles of regionalism:

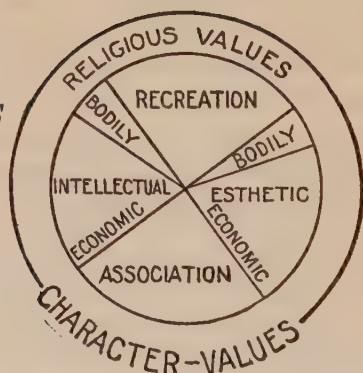
The simplest rudimentary conception of political action is this, that one man imposes a command upon another. But under primitive conditions this means that the two men meet. Suppose now that the state, instead of including a town and a few fields round it, covers a radius with a circle of two or three hundred miles. The simple action of government becomes at once impossible. The world has been occupied something like half its history in struggling with this elementary difficulty.⁵

⁵ Seely, J. R., *Introduction to Political Science*, p. 89.

Psychical and ethical, social and political considerations make it evident that geographical categories are essential to all sober statecraft. They are indeed absolutely necessary. Man clearly depends on the home in which he lives.



Figure C



Character = circumference which holds the whole together.

Lines = extrinsic values.

Areas = intrinsic values.

CHART VI THE MORAL VALUES IN COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

For the source of the above arguments and diagrams as applied to the State, see Hocking, "Sovereignty and Moral Obligation," *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 28, p. 314; Everett, W. G., *Moral Values*, Chap. 7; Brightman, E. S., "The More than Human Values of Religion," *Journal of Religion*, Vol. 1, pp. 362-377.

"This home of man, in all its geographical amplitude and splendor, embraces in a synoptical survey at least the following successive units, together forming the great vital regional series of complete citizenship: the domestic hearth, the district or townships immediately containing it, the neighboring city, the region (urban and rural) embracing each in a more or less beneficent unity, the national boundaries, the still wider commonalty of the state; and now at much closer quarters than before the frontiers and the neighboring states; and each of these last again with its successive frontiers, nations, regions, cities and townships, hamlets and domestic hearths, until the vast geographical circuit of social solidarity is complete. These are our neighbors." ⁶

Local history is the ultimate substance of national history. There could be no epics were pastorals not also true, no patriotism were there no homes, no neighbors, no quiet round of civic duty. Scholarly men have been found not a few who, though they might have shone upon a larger field, yet chose to pore all their lives long upon the scattered records of a country-side, where there was nothing but an old church and an ancient village. The history of the nation is only the history of its villages written large.⁷

The evils of provincialism, sectionalism, and sectarianism are elsewhere discussed. The relations of regionalism and cosmopolitanism are described by Josiah Royce in his essay on *Provincialism* as analogous to self-respect and altruism in persons. He says:

The difference between sectionalism and the higher forms of provincialism is analogous to the difference which, in individuals, makes selfishness so markedly contrasted with self-respect. The provincialism for which I am pleading is the self-respect of the community, not

⁶ Branford, *Principles of Government*.

⁷ Woodrow Wilson, *The Course of American History*, New Jersey Historical Society, Vol. 8.

its sectional selfishness, and of the idealized forms of self-respect no community can possess too much, just as no individual can set his personal ideals too high.

And so these three factors in every healthy sort of provincial self-respect I emphasize: First, the determination of the community to live its own life, not in isolation, not in sectional selfishness, but through preserving the integrity of its individual ideals and customs. Second, the authority, the gentle but firm social authority which the community exercises towards new-comers and sojourners,—not repelling them, not despising them, but insisting that the soul of the community has its own dignity to assert over the souls of all those wayward individuals who have not yet learned to appreciate its meaning. And third, the local patriotism which loves to make this authority beautiful and winning, by idealizing the province, by adorning it, by glorifying it through legend and song, and good works, and kindly provision for the needs of its inhabitants.

The following gracious tribute to the Pilgrim fathers likewise illustrates the principle of regionalism:

Their freedom's very secret here laid down,—
 The spring of government is the little town!
 They knew that streams must follow to a spring;
 And no stream flows from township to a king.
 Give praise to others, early come or late,
 For love and labor on our ship of state;
 But this must stand above all fame and zeal:
 The Pilgrim Fathers laid the ribs and keel.
 On their strong lines we base our social health,—
 The man, the home—the town—the commonwealth!*

3 THE IMMORAL DIVISIONS OF THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

The spiritual powers must themselves coöperate in each unit of the regional series. That this is a hard

*From *To the Pilgrims*, by J. B. O'Reilly.

saying for the denominationalist may be made evident by a few examples.

One need not go so far back as ancient Judaism or the religious wars of the sixteenth century to find evidences of how imperial ecclesiasticism defeats democratic neighborliness. In a little village in Scotland in 1750 there was a single stone-mason who, though a Presbyterian, condescended to do some work on the home of an Episcopal rector. For this he was taken to task by the burgher synod. "His sin was considered at least equal to that of building the *high places* mentioned in the Old Testament, and he was declared highly censurable and not deserving of admission to the seals of the Covenant until he professed sorrow for his sin, and the resulting scandal."⁹

A much better illustration of the force of common need in producing true religion pure and undefiled is shown by an incident from our own country's history. Remembering that the Pilgrims at Plymouth were Separatists, and that the settlers at Boston were only Puritans, we can readily understand that they were far apart in their religious views. This is more clearly evident in the journal of one of the Puritans: "We will not say, as the Separatists are wont to say on leaving England, *Farewell, Babylon*, but *Farewell, Church of God in England*. We do not go to New England as separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot help but separate from the corruptions in it." It is evident that the Puritans did not intend to have much to do with the Pilgrims. Yet the

⁹ See Richardson, *Memoirs of Alex. Campbell*, Vol. I, pp. 51-54.

first winter, when malarial sickness swept the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Governor Endicott, "despite the common report touching their outward forme of God's Worshipe," sent to the Plymouth Colony for the services of their physician, Dr. Fuller. Whereupon community necessities, ministered unto in a neighborly way, gave birth to a new and more brotherly spirit between the colonies. Governor Endicott discovered that "God's people are all marked with one and the same mark and sealed with one and the same seale, and have for the maine one and the same harte, guided by one and the same spirit of truth"; also that the "worshipe of the Pilgrims at the Rock was the same that he had professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercie revealed himself unto him being far from the common report that hath been spread touching that peticuler."¹⁰

The situation in the average smaller community in the United States to-day is well represented by the results of a study made of denominationalism in the newer cities of the West. In one small town, having eight church organizations, "strange to say the denominational spirit is not strong. Whenever there are special attractions at any one church in the way of music or a strange preacher, members of other churches do not hesitate to flock there, leaving their own ministers to preach to empty pews. One church has on its roll the names of men and women who have been connected with ten different denominations elsewhere, several of which are represented here. In this

¹⁰ Mode, *The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity*, p. 101.

case it is neither the doctrines nor form of government that brings them together. Members frequently transfer their membership for reasons having no connection with either doctrines or polity. A large majority of the members would be unable to give an intelligent account of the distinctive differences in belief of the different denominations."

In contrast with this the same writer calls attention to another town in which the action taken furnishes an instructive example both of the power of socializing forces and of the way in which prestige is enabling the larger churches to swallow up the smaller sects. The only way the smaller sects can hope to survive is through some democratic community association. In this city, "instead of yielding to the blandishments of the field agents of the different denominations, who visited them and tried to get them to organize along various lines, the English-speaking population determined to have only one American church, organized on a community basis. They called it after one of the larger and wealthier denominations in order to take advantage of its power and prestige throughout the country." ¹¹

Another example of coöperation "exhibits the power of the local church to make itself the center of the whole community. This church serves so well the social needs of the people of the community that a social hall, once popular, has been closed, and three granges in succession that have attempted to organize

¹¹ William Boyle, "Transplanted Denominationalism," *The Outlook*, Vol. 83, p. 323.

in the community have failed. This church is passionately devotional and intensely missionary." Its community consciousness is but a legitimate expression of its appreciation of religious realities.

In general, however, sectarianism is discouraging to those who attempt to serve the community as a unit. "The country church does not serve the communities' needs as the community sees those needs. When a community enterprise is to be launched the promoter of it finds it necessary to avoid the churches, lest his enterprise be entangled in their differences. He is embarrassed by their lack of community spirit."¹²

In his book on *Rural Life*, Dr. Galpin defines the community as that *measure of territory* where people naturally coöperate to a given end. A survey recently completed of the rural church situation of the United States reveals the necessity for community coöperation at this level.

This survey reports that home mission societies of the various denominations are among the worst offenders against the prosperity of the rural population by aiding the competitive fight for existence of unnecessary and chronically unsuccessful churches. It says that the burden of the support of these non-productive churches, partly subsidized by home mission societies, falls upon the rural population, increasing existent financial depression.

Of these subsidized churches, a large number are in active competition with other subsidized churches. A considerable proportion of the aided churches are of the chronically non-productive sort. It almost appears in many districts that the

¹² Wilson, *The Country Community*, p. 105.

fewer churches a county is economically able to afford the more it is apt to have. Subsidized competition is sometimes even found between churches of the same denomination, and very frequently between those of almost identical doctrines. Out of 211 aided churches in certain typical counties, it was found that 149 could be dispensed with without essential loss. The use of home mission money to further unproductive competition is difficult to justify, especially in view of the hardship it works upon the rural population.¹³

A committee of the American Country Life Association recently formulated a resolution which contained the following sentiments:

The exploiter of the rural church is denominational officialdom from the outside.

That service to the community rather than to the denomination be the basis on which ministers shall be trained, appointed and promoted.

That the denominations should encourage the discontinuance of small, struggling, competing churches in the interest of real Christian service to the communities involved.¹⁴

4 THE INCREASING INTEGRITY OF THE SECULAR COMMUNITY

The principle of regionalism has always been recognized in the political life of our country, and is rapidly dominating the organization of all forms of social work. It is even entering into the organization

¹³ Brunner, E. D., Editor Town and Country Surveys, Institute of Social and Religious Research.

¹⁴ *Proceedings* of National Conference of American Country Life Association, 1924, Univ. of Chicago Press.

of industry. A writer in a business journal recently made the following statement:

Any move that tends to bring together individuals in a community and to draw out their coöperative forces—usually latent—whatever the immediate occasion, develops a feeling of *mutual responsibility* of the sort that is felt as *opportunity* rather than *duty*. Mere might cannot demand loyalty and steadfastness; these are voluntarily given and must be *won*. To paraphrase:

“All who success would win
Must share it—Success was born a twin.”

The American Association for Community Organization is a national body seeking to unify the social agencies of every community. There are now 170 large cities affiliated with this association and finding its methods of coöperative ministry not only more financially profitable but far more effective, in arousing the spiritual resources of the community, than the old method of competition.¹⁵

In political life the voluntary coöperation of citizens on the basis of mutual community relationships has been pointed to as the source of progress in the state. Political writers express apprehension lest national party machines undermine neighborhood loyalties and local self-government.

The political development of the United States is paving the way for new methods of political action. Its basis has been

¹⁵ See Lee, Porter, et al., *Report of a Study of the Interrelation of the Work of National Social Agencies in American Communities*, National Information Bureau, New York.

laid in the struggles for emancipation in the form of "Committees of 70," or of "one hundred," of the "citizens' movements," of the "leagues," or "civic federations," all of which represent free local associations of men brought together for a particular cause, completely setting aside for the nonce their views on other political questions. By this method it has been possible to combine all the living forces of American society in the struggle against political corruption, and to win victories which enable us not to despair of American democracy and government of, by and for the people. In the sphere of great National questions as well as local, the "*leagues*" have been instigators of civic awakening; all the great reforms which have been passed to purify political life are due to their initiative and efforts; they have broken the prescription set up in favor of party tyranny and corruption.¹⁶

Local self-government, which in Anglo-Saxon communities had from time immemorial set in motion the whole political machinery, has subsided under the action of the caucus. The caucus régime has undermined state and local autonomy and made the electors lose their interest in public life.¹⁷

If America discourages the locality, the community, the self-contained town, she will kill the nation. A nation is as rich as her free communities.¹⁸

Consolidation of county school districts and schools for modernized education for farm children; consolidation of rural trade agencies into complete terminal towns for a modernized rural standard of living; consolidation of church groups for a powerful rural religion. Can these things be? It is so hard to give up the present possession for the mere promise of a greater possession. The little country school still sticks but is slipping. The little country village still sticks and will die

¹⁶ Hayes, *Problems of Government*.

¹⁷ Ostragorski, *Democracy and the Party System*, p. 364.

¹⁸ Woodrow Wilson, *The New Freedom*, p. 289.

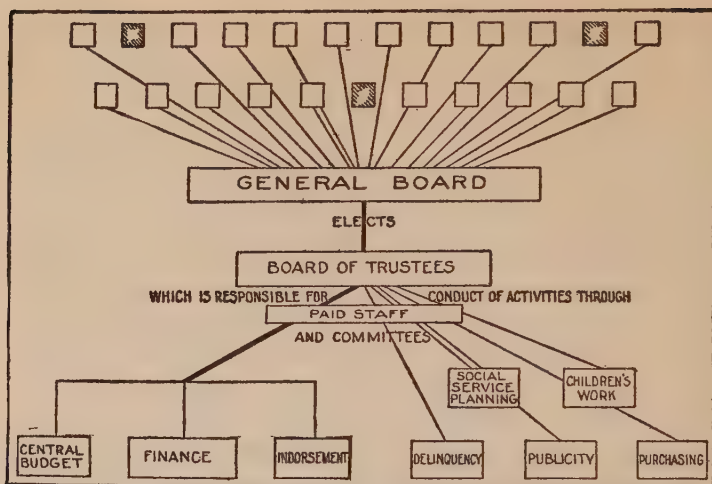


CHART VII SHOWING FORM OF ORGANIZATION OF THE WELFARE FEDERATION OF CLEVELAND AND OPPORTUNITY FOR INCLUSION OF OTHER AGENCIES DOING SIMILAR WORK

sticking. The little country church, will it also hang on to its own life and lose it, or will it merge its life and gain it back a thousandfold? ¹⁹

Local religious institutions are facing the same problem as local political institutions. Loss of autonomy is producing the same effect, loss of interest in religious affairs.

Note on Coöperative Social Service Enterprises, in connection with Charts VII and VIII.

There is no doubt that many adjustments and improvements need to be made in the philanthropic field, where there is so

¹⁹ C. J. Galpin, *Rural Social Problems*, p. 130.

BOSTON WELFARE COUNCIL

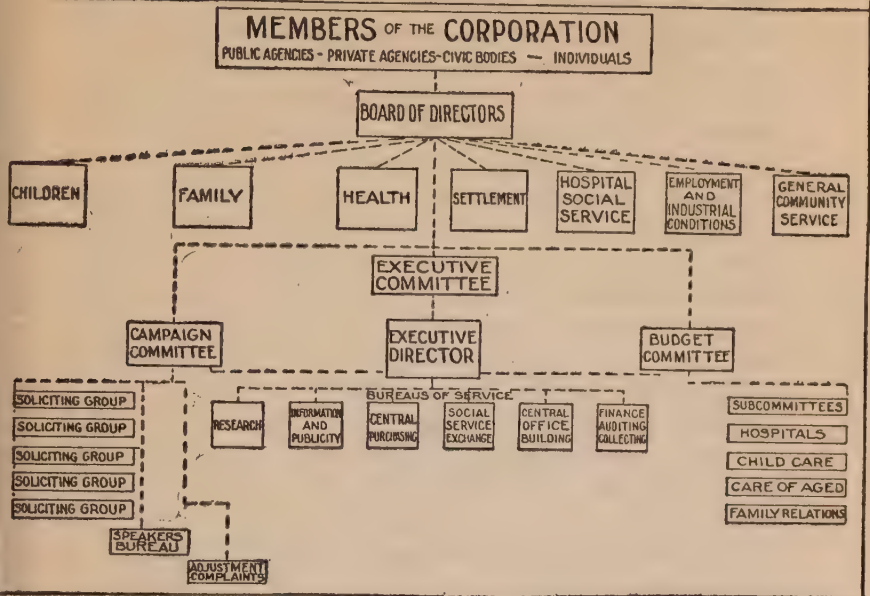


CHART VIII SHOWING ORGANIZATION OF THE BOSTON WELFARE COUNCIL

much individualistic and localized effort by a large number of agencies, often poorly coordinated, and where these agencies themselves have failed to grasp many of their larger obligations and to make provision for correcting these defects of administration and failure of broad functioning. However, it does not seem probable that many communities will make the mistake of undertaking an autocratic policy for bringing about such ends. There must be broad understanding and sympathetic approach in order to bring about adjustments and solutions that will prove satisfactory. It requires a clear

vision of real needs and moral suasion, based on correct fundamental understanding, to exercise an enduring leadership. In view of what has recently happened to the supreme exponents of the efficiency of autocratic power, and of the lessened awe of the world generally for autocratic procedure, it would seem inexcusable for individuals and groups in any community to fall into this error in the social service field.

There is an entirely opposite point of view held by another group of people who oppose or question the federation idea. This group fears that small and unimportant agencies will be unduly benefited and given unwarranted prominence and standing through the application of the federation plan. Their fear is that the high standard agencies will be levelled down and the others levelled up; that agencies of little or no social use will suddenly find their budgets raised and that they will have equal standing and prominence with the others. Along with this goes the fear that the autocratic attitude spoken of above will control federations. The answer to these points is that both of them have real substance and that in working out the plans of federation both must be avoided. . . .

There has been a recognition of this need in certain cities where bodies, known as Central Councils of Social Agencies, have been at work. Certain achievements have been made by these bodies but it has been some years since the idea was started and while some improvements have been made by them they have not had the organization and the program which appealed to the imagination of either the workers or the giving public. This is largely because they have not seen fit to take hold of the problems which got at the essentials. What they need is a more courageous program and to have the courage of their convictions. . . .

The federation idea proceeds on the belief that the community has people who, by interest and sympathy and ability,

are capable of viewing this whole field with benefit to the city. . . .

The chart [see page 96] gives the main outlines of the usual federation plan of organization. It recognizes the democratic principle of consent and participation by those concerned in whatever enterprise is to be undertaken. . . .

The question that confronts us now is how to face the problems which are immediately before social workers. There are many indications that we are on the eve of great expansion in social work both locally and nationally. Big plans for enlargement and extension are under way. Commercial groups are organizing to promote and put over these contemplated campaigns and are naturally interested in stimulating them. Various denominations are raising funds aggregating hundreds of millions; some of this at least is for social service. . . .

Our national social service organizations proceed on a somewhat different basis from governmental processes. The people elect their President and other national officers and have at least that much chance to have a voice in policies and quotas for government bonds and in other administrative or advisory matters that proceed from Washington. In the case of national philanthropic organizations there is little or no chance for any voice on the part of communities in quotas or requests or expectations which proceed from bodies which expect various communities and states to respond to the action of the respective governing bodies.

The federation idea is interested in an orderly way in finding out community responsibility not only for its local affairs but for its proper relationships and obligations to these national bodies. Should not these national bodies themselves work toward some such understanding? . . .

Is it too much to expect that along with the promotion of big plans for expansion and speeding up for national and

local private enterprises, due consideration will be given by these people to the larger and more fundamental affairs which affect the whole community? ²⁰

5 THE PLACE OF REGIONALISM IN THE COMING REFORMATION

The trend toward community unity in political, educational, and social life will not be without a powerful effect on religious institutions. When social welfare and educational agencies, though representing many diverse theories of society and education, can unite in a single administrative body, their effectiveness will put the churches on the defensive to justify their separate existence. In his work on *Sectarianism* Dr. McComb bears witness at this point:

There is a third party in the warfare of the sects, *the public*. It has rights in this conflict as truly as in the conflicts between capital and labor. The public will take the situation in its own hands if the church cannot lead the way out of the present chaos. The unconscious drifting from the old attitude of respect and reverence toward the church will become a conscious and determined revolt against an aggregation of self-centered sects. Substitutes which make for unity in well-doing, but which subordinate the religious to the social motive, will be tried. The various fraternal societies, Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., etc., are examples. A few more great movements of a similar character and the church as an organization will be too pitifully crippled to do the work expected of it.²¹

²⁰ Kingsley, S. C., "War Chests in Peace Times," *The Survey*, May 31, 1919.

²¹ *Psychology of Sectarianism*, p. 58.

A unified social welfare agency, a single public school system, must find a counterpart in a unified church administration for the whole community. Independent community action in church life through the free and unbiased combination of Christian citizens, extending through all levels from the local neighborhood to state and nation, is the democratic slogan suggested by the demands of the principle of regionalism. Logic and morality both demand community coöperation in the field of religion. "Together we must try to meet the need of a community in which hunger and loneliness, poverty and sin are no respecters of sectarian divisions. Our church is no longer strategically located to meet these actual community needs? Then we will abandon it and give what strength we have to another Christian church that is more favorably situated. Try to keep a dead church alive for the glory of God? He can never be glorified by waste and folly. Build still another church here in honor of Jesus Christ? He would be more highly honored if the handful of his followers would coöperate rather than compete." ²²

If the principle of regionalism is not recognized by the churches there is sure to be religious reaction or revolution. Unless the denominations can learn to understand each other sympathetically, to respect each other, to make reasonable sacrifices with a view to co-operation by geographical units, at all levels of community organization for the common good, then

²² J. G. Gilkey, "The Coming Reformation," *Christian Century*, January 17, 1924, p. 79.

unrest and dissatisfaction will surely arise. For if, instead of coöperant evolution, church life continues in unregulated competition, the result will be sectarian strife of the intensest degree, followed by a religious revolution. It is easily seen that the sectarian battle will be won by the strongest church. This church will be one which has an imperial policy, for unconnected congregational churches cannot stand the prestige of a powerfully united autocratic church. Within this new imperialistic church demands for freedom can no longer be met by a migration to new geographical frontiers; we shall be as circumscribed as Europe in Luther's time; the only way to liberty of conscience then will be by a new Reformation, by new twentieth-century religious wars. Such a possibility is not a fantastic dream if the present policy of sectarian competition, in disregard of popular local needs, is continued. The new frontier of freedom is the geographical and religious integrity of the local community.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1 What is the problem which regionalism seeks to solve? State the principles of regionalism.

2 What arguments can be given from the field of social psychology to justify regionalism?

3 Has regionalism any moral significance? How does neighborhood integrity influence individual integrity?

4 What religious significance has regionalism? What has neighborhood solidarity and sympathetic community coöperation to do with the welfare of the soul?

5 Is a true neighbor a person who belongs to the same

church or one who lives at the same place? Do church duties in your community tend to oppose or supersede neighborhood duties?

6 Show by concrete examples how Christian coöperation is more conducive than sectarian competition to the promotion of morality and religion.

7 Give illustrations to show how the principle of regionalism is being adopted in social and political administration. List the forces tending to divide your community and set neighbor against neighbor in warring camps. In a parallel column list the forces promoting community coöperation. In which column have you placed the churches? Why?

8 Discuss the merits and demerits of the proposition: that "service to the community rather than to the denomination should be the basis on which ministers should be trained, appointed, and promoted."

9 Woodrow Wilson said, "If America discourages the locality, the community, the self-contained town, she will kill the nation." Does denominationalism discourage "the locality, the community, the self-contained town"? Is sectarianism "killing the nation"?

10 Do you think the possibility of twentieth-century religious wars is a fantastic dream? What should be the place of regionalism in the coming Reformation?

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CHAPTER VI

DENOMINATIONALISM

I MERITS OF DENOMINATIONALISM

a *Its Large Place in the History of Freedom.* A man without a denomination might well be described in the same words as Edward Everett Hale's "Man without a Country." Denominational loyalty is to be defended by much the same reasoning as is used to justify national patriotism. Protestantism and nationalism sprang from the same root, desire for religious and political freedom.¹ The origin of sects is to be traced not only to religious but also to political causes. Sects arose not as the expression of some eccentric individual's erratic theological notions, but from the heart-life of the people demanding freedom. Freedom in worship soon led to freedom at

¹ The reforms of Huss, Wyclif, Zwingli, Calvin, and Luther were bound up with nationalistic issues. As for the common people, compare the case of Joan of Arc:

"BISHOP OF BEAUVAIS: I see now that what is in your mind is not that this girl has never once mentioned the Church, and thinks only of God and herself, but that she has never once mentioned the peerage and thinks only of the king and herself.

"EARL OF WARWICK: Quite so. These two ideas of hers are the same idea at bottom. It goes deep, my lord. It is the protest of the individual soul against the interference of priest or peer between the private man and his God. I should call it Protestantism if I had to find a name for it."—Bernard Shaw, *Saint Joan*, Scene IV.

the polls. Religious and political forces operated reciprocally in the historic process. The new sects transformed the nations, and the nations in turn created new sects. Denominationalism arose because of this desire for democracy in religion. Can it still be justified in our modern era as promoting political freedom or fostering the highest interests of the religious life?

b *Numerous Independent Religious Experiments Are Desirable.*² In the seventeenth century an Italian philosopher, Giovanni Vico, defined a nation as "a natural society of men who by unity of territory, origin, customs, and language are drawn into a community of life and of conscience." Denominations are also communities of life and conscience, but the marks of denominationalism must be distinguished

² "Many years ago a young man came back to Sweden from England where he had spent a year studying the Church and Religion. He came back a more than ever convinced son of the Evangelic family in God's congregation. But to my astonishment he contended that there is an advantage for a country to be more mixed than ours denominationally (Sweden having out of more than six millions, about three thousand Roman Catholics) because of the problems and the dramatic intensity it produces in the history of souls."—Archbishop of Sweden, in *Review of the Churches*, October, 1924.

"Many a division or section of the Church has stood for some vital aspect of the truth which was not emphasized by other sections. Truth is so wide and the diversity in temperament and in operations so great among men, that no Church as yet has been able to express the whole of the truth of God. In the providence of God each particular section and denomination has brought to the great Catholic Church its own peculiar enrichment. There is nothing wrong in the fact that the Church is split up into various groups and denominations, though some earnest-minded people seem to think otherwise. Diversities cause no peril if the spirit is right."—Editorial, "The Churchman Afield," *Boston Transcript*, November 1, 1924.

from those of nationality. The marks of denominationalism may be summarized as follows:

(1) *Beliefs, Creeds, Doctrines.* Common theological ideas expressed in a typical language which is familiar to all.

(2) *Distinguishing Rituals or Forms of Worship.* Typical emotional responses; recognition of the sacraments; use of vestments, and general emphasis on the objective or subjective aspects of worship.

(3) *Search for a Characteristic Religious Experience.* A denomination believes in a particular variety of religious experience and seeks to demonstrate its value. Some emphasize the mystical, others the ascetic, others the social or practical aspects of religion. Some search for signs of original sin, others for an inward light; some search for evidences of election, and others for a manifestation of grace. The cultivation of all varieties of religious experience and expression is necessary to enrich the religious, moral, and cultural life of a state.

(4) *Characteristic Social Life.* It is natural that characteristic forms of doctrine, worship, and religious experience should issue in a characteristic social life. There are differences in amusements countenanced; in dress adopted, in moral approvals or disapprovals given to forms of association and to social, political and industrial ideals. Although these social marks have been largely destroyed by the influences of our cosmopolitan life, denominations are still to some slight extent characterized by distinguishing social as well as religious customs.

(5) *History and Polity.* A common history, loyalty to great leaders of the past, the habit of political coöperation, all bind a denomination together. Each denomination is conducting a governmental as well as a religious experiment. The recognition of denominational integrity gives opportunity for the practice of self-government not found if local or denominational autonomy is denied.

A denomination is a group of people whose common character is sufficiently marked to enable them to act together in carrying out a practical experiment in Christian living and worship, and sufficiently distinct from such other groups that any surrender of denominational peculiarities or integrity would lower the worth of the experiment. The question arises as to whether modern denominations are not losing the consciousness of a specific message and a distinct mission. Denominations seem more anxious to compete for the privilege of doing the whole task, rather than to specialize in the development of the various departments of the Lord's work. But many facts seem to indicate that in the future evangelistic methods will be intensive rather than extensive; and that sectarian rivalries will be, not for the quantitative increase of their own memberships, but for the qualitative development of moral and spiritual values in modern society.

c Voluntary Associations Creative and Progressive. Different theories of government differ as to the place to be given to large group or small group activities. Both have their advantages and their disadvantages. The small group becomes responsible for the individual

DENOMINATIONALISM

TABLE III SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT SECTS IN U. S. IN YEARS 1890-1906-1916-1922 ACCORDING TO SIZE OF SECTARIAN GROUPS AS SPECIFIED

No. members in distribution groups	NUMBER AND MEMBERSHIP OF PROTESTANT SECTS									
	1890 †					1906 †				
	Sects	%	Members	%	Sects	%	Members	%	Sects	%
Under 10,000 *	70	32.	167,039	1.2	93	55	223,404	1.05	101	57.7
1-5 million *	4	2.99	6,079,385	48	6	3.2	11,127,383	52.5	8	4.6
Totals	134	100.	14,173,678	100	169	100	20,569,764	100.	175	100.
Under 1001	29	21.6	12,177.6	.09	43	25	20,894	0.1	41	23.5
1,001-5,000	30	22.4	69,068	5	33	20	82,949	0.4	39	22.3
5,001-10,000	11	8.2	85,195	6	17	10.	119,621	0.6	21	12.
10,001-25,000	22	16.4	342,584	2.4	24	14	389,653	1.8	21	12.
25,001-50,000	8	5.9	312,960	2.2	11	7	375,609	1.7	12	6.8
50,001-100,000	8	5.9	609,732	4.3	9	5	675,250	3.2	11	6.3
100,001-250,000	13	9.7	1,992,227	14.0	15	8	2,205,793	10.4	10	5.7
250,001-500,000	4	2.99	1,436,149	10.	7	4	2,553,660	11.1	8	4.6
500,001-1,000,000	5	3.7	3,233,638	22.7	4	2.4	5,218,652	15.2	4	2.3
1-2 million	3	2.24	3,839,031	27	3	1.6	3,870,151	18.3	4	2.3
2-3 million	1	0.75	2,240,354	15.8	3	1.6	7,257,232	34.3	3	1.7
3-4 million									1	6
4-5 million										
									1	6
									2	1.2
									6	4.25-24.6
									15.	

* Summaries not included in totals.

† Years 1890-1906-1916, figures from U. S. Religious Census for 1916.

‡ 1922 report from Federal Council Year Book of the Churches. Figures based on reports of denominational statisticians, with the exception of 19 sects taken from 1916 Religious Census, and 42 taken from latest available source.

from birth to his entrance into society, implanting fundamental attitudes and loyalties. The small group presides over the birth of new ideas, giving them form, substance, and power. The small group stands sponsor for the birth of the spiritual life; the Church becomes responsible for the nurture of the reborn soul. Though the members of a church, like other small groups, are tolerant of one another's faults, they are not indifferent to them. Other small groups may offer a temporary companionship for misery, a temporary forgiveness for mistakes, but the Church is a group of sinners *being saved*.

Small groups have their disadvantages. The swing of the pendulum carries them from a loose Bohemianism to a narrow bigotry. Some small groups become too tolerant, too free; others, often because of opposition, grow a hard shell as a protection from environment, become narrow, strict, rigid, and exclusive of new ideas and new life.

The small sects are usually the most intense in their devotion to particular individualistic ideals; they have retained their identity because of intense loyalties. But at the present time they are in a dilemma. On the one hand they are in danger of destruction by reason of cosmopolitan and social forces, and of desertion of their youth to denominations with more community prestige; and on the other hand they dare not attempt to counter the influence of the large bodies by themselves centralizing, or joining any coöperative effort, for fear the coöperative association will be dominated by the imperialistic denominations. They prefer to

DECLARATION

AND

ADDRESS

OF THE

CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

OF

WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, (Pa.)

PRINTED BY BROWN & SAMPLE.

AT THE OFFICE OF "THE REPORTER"

1899.

PLATE IV. THE DECLARATION AND ADDRESS OF THOMAS CAMPBELL

The Declaration and Address of Thomas Campbell can fairly lay claim to being regarded as one of the immortal documents of religious history. This is true, not only because of its influence upon the history of the Disciples of Christ but also because of its intrinsic merit. It touches upon the most important problems of the modern church, and until these problems are settled it will always possess a direct and searching appeal. The evils which the author deprecated are still with us and whatever view we may take of the solution which he suggests, no one can dispute the earnestness and acuteness of his appeal.

The denominational theory of the church, with its idea of variant branches all separate and yet all equal in value, made no appeal to him. . . . He felt himself to be a brother to all who sincerely believed in and worshiped the Lord Jesus Christ in all the churches and he desired to have the fellowship with them. It was this desire which prompted the writing and publication of the *Declaration and Address*. . . . Although intended, primarily, for the ministers in the various churches, it was specifically addressed "To all that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity throughout all the churches."—Frederick D. Kershner, *The Christian Union Overture*.

It is also becoming more and more evident that, notwithstanding all our sectarian differences, we yet have something called a common Christianity;—that there are certain great fundamental matters—indeed, every thing elementary in what is properly called piety and morality—in which all good men of all denominations are agreed; and that these great common principles and views form a common ground on which all Christian people can unite, harmonize and co-operate in one great system of moral and Christian education.—Alexander Campbell, *Address on Common Schools*.

risk being pounced on by the lion in the local communities, rather than to put their head into the lion's jaws, as most coöperative agreements appear to them. Table IV shows the situation in the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

TABLE IV DISTRIBUTION OF SMALL SECTS IN UNITED STATES AND FEDERAL COUNCIL (1916)

<i>Membership</i>	<i>175 bodies in U. S.</i>	<i>Bodies in Council</i>
Over 100,000	30	21
50,000-100,000	11	2
25,000- 50,000	12	1
10,000- 25,000	21	3
5,000- 10,000	21	2
1,000- 5,000	39	1
Under 1,000	41	0

The small sects must be convinced that federation movements are not merely another form of imperial competition but in reality mean democratic coöperation.

The advantages of the union of autonomous small groups into a larger federation are that all such social coöperation increases the quantity and quality of knowledge, and provides the possibility of better judgments about the true values of life. Language arose because of the need for social intercommunication. Our level of intelligence as well as our moral standards, not to mention economic well-being and happiness, is lowered—all these developments are retarded—by those who obstruct the larger social unification, intercommunication, and coöperation, international and interdenominational. On the character of diplomacy depends not only bread but brains. The empirical field of the state and the visible organization of the

invisible Church must both be as universal as possible, must include all living souls.

d *Small Groups a Safeguard against Imperial Centralization.* An empire is inimical to the formation of small governmental groups within the body politic. A democracy encourages the formation of such groups because from them it draws its strength; they are the sources of new life and culture, social, political, religious.

Recognition of denominational integrity is the only way to avoid the disadvantages of centralization. Loyalty to a large group tends to belittle personal, private, and small-group obligations. The emperor demands total loyalty. The emphasis on universality overlooks the necessity of particularized, empirical, and local demonstrations of the moral ideal. Large group enthusiasm becomes thin, unreal, and other-worldly. Extreme cosmopolitanism undermines denominational loyalties and national patriotism.

The numerical size of constituent bodies in secular or religious federal governments is an administrative problem to be worked out in practice. It is possible for a denomination to be too small to provide men and resources necessary for an independent experiment in religious grouping; and it may also be possible that a denomination may become too large to maintain the specific loyalties, distinguishing characteristics, and representative administration necessary in a democratic, as contrasted with an imperial or cosmopolitan union. The average population of the forty-eight states in the federal union is 2,193,188; the largest is

ten million, the smallest seventy-seven thousand. Of 138 Protestant sects the average membership is 205,475; the largest five million, the smallest one thousand. Fifty-four per cent of the sects have a membership of less than ten thousand.

Democratic administration realizes that coöperative activities can be efficient only as individual initiative is recognized. In our modern times we are in danger of over-stressing authority, social efficiency, centralization, to the exclusion of liberty, personal salvation, and the infinite worth of the individual soul. We must not forget that it is the latter principle which has motivated a great part of Christian history. Far in advance of his time, John Milton recognized that both authority and liberty, both individual rights and social duties, both tolerance and coöperation, were needed to form a successful ecclesiastical organization. In his work, *A Free Commonwealth*, speaking of spiritual liberty in the state, Milton said:

Where there is much to learn there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion is knowledge in the making. . . . A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and some grain of charity might win all these diligences to join and unite into one general and brotherly search after truth. . . .

While the temple of the Lord was building who could not consider that there must be many schisms, many dissections made in the quarry and in the timber ere the house of God can be built. And when every stone is laid artfully together, it cannot be united into a continuity, it can but be contiguous in this world. Neither can every piece of the building be of one form; nay, rather the perfection consists in this, that out

of many moderate varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes that are not vastly disproportional, arises the goodly and the graceful symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure.

Let us therefore, when great reformation is expected, be more considerate builders, more wise in spiritual architecture.

2 DEFECTS OF DENOMINATIONALISM

a Sectarianism as a Cause of Immorality and Irreligion. That the Church must be reorganized before religion can be effectively taught to the world's citizens is made more evident by a consideration of how sectarianism blocks the progressive revelation of God. The sins of sectarianism, or the contribution of denominationalism to the immorality and irreligion of the age, may be summed up in two charges:

- (1) The practical denial of Christ's divinity.
- (2) The practical denial of Jesus' ethical teachings.

(1) There are two incidents in the fellowship of Christ with His disciples which illustrate these two points. When Peter said, "I believe that Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," Christ answered, "Upon this rock will I build my Church." Of all the interpretations which have been put upon this incident, that seems to be most valid which makes the rock or foundation of the Church the ethical fellowship of all believers. Those who do the will of God as revealed by Christ are the brothers and sisters in this fellowship. Any less catholic interpretation than this is a profanation of Jesus' spiritual message. It is a placing of ceremonial or doctrinal "signs" above ethical

living. Christ refused to give or establish any such material sign. By assuming that he gave such the various sects have deliberately cast Him down from the pinnacle of the temple from which He Himself refused to leap. Christ's greatest sign was His sinless life. This is still the only sign by which a follower of His may enter fully into His fellowship. The denominations deny Christ's power to draw men unto Him by any other than their peculiar man-made forms. For the signs of ethical living given by Jesus they have substituted man-made signs of ceremonial obedience and creedal adherence. The existence of warring sects is a living, breathing denial of Jesus' teaching of fellowship; and hence exclusive sectarian loyalty necessarily precludes the highest loyalty to Christ—a practical denial of His divinity.

(2) Further evidence that the foundation of the Kingdom is doing God's will by right conduct is given in Jesus' prayer for His disciples: that they might be one with Him and the Father, that they might be perfect even as the Father in heaven is perfect. The love of God and ethical conduct toward men are the only bonds which bind souls to Christ and to one another in the Heavenly kingdom. It is this ethical oneness for which Jesus prayed. This is not a unity which demands absorption of individual differences in a pantheistic Being, but a unified fellowship of distinct personalities growing constantly into individual and social perfection. Jesus had about Him disciples of various temperaments and powers. The story of His contact with them shows that He used different

methods in dealing with each one. The unity for which He prayed was not a uniformity of procedure in entering the Kingdom. This was the very sin for which He denounced the Pharisees. The unity which He desired was one of purpose, personal devotion to a loving Father and ethical obedience to a righteous God.

The churches, by placing man-made methods of procedure above unity of purpose, have tended to obscure the ethical content of Jesus' teaching. Sectarianism places technique above purpose, the method above the goal, *methodology* above *Christology*.

The Rev. P. M. Strayer says:

"Only a united church can lift up Christ so as to draw all men unto Him. Uniting the churches would have immense apologetic value. This is Christ's own plea. Knowing the pride of opinion and anticipatory schism and division His reiterated prayer is that all who believe in Him might be one even as Father and Son are one. He wanted them to be one *'that the world may believe that thou didst send Me.'* Twice He gives this reason for His prayer. Jesus dared to rest and risk His mission on the unity of His disciples. It was as if He had said, *'If I cannot take out of your hearts all that is divisive, if I cannot break down selfishness, lift you above littleness and prejudice, and knit your hearts into a loving brotherhood, the world will not believe that I came from God.'* History seconds the plea of Jesus. Christianity has never made real progress by dividing the body of Christ. The mightiest of Christian evidences is Christian Unity."

A reorganization of the Church is demanded because the antagonism of the sects is a practical denial of Christian ethics; because sectarianism defeats the moral effectiveness of the Church's mission.

b *Authoritarian Ethic Retards Moral Progress.* The attempt to control conduct through unthinking obedience to authority arises from over-emphasis of the Church's function as a conserver or preserver of established morality. Unthinking obedience to authority is prejudicial to morality whether that authority be the Bible or the Church. God Himself does not ask that kind of obedience. The churches, however, by assuming that each has charge of some infallible doctrine, emphasize the authoritarian side of morality. Protestant priests become new mediators between believers and the holy truths. Large groups in many sects, wishing to safeguard the fundamentals of the faith, have issued a wholesale attack on rationalism. Rationalism it is true, is a narrow and incomplete method in philosophy.³ But it is the method which these very groups have used in defending sectarianism. It is the method *par excellence* of the Catholic Church. The Roman Church has the one holy and infallible hypothesis, too sacred for investigation by any method save that of faith. The Protestant sects say: "No! We also have some infallible hypotheses—a group of minor premises, as it were, which lead the faithful

³ "They [the rationalists] sought to apply to the interpretation of the universe as a whole the same kind of intellectual process as that by which one passes from part to part in the examination of finite things or from proposition to proposition in a chain of reasoning. They ignored what has been called the synoptic method—the '*reason*' as distinguished from the '*understanding*' of Plato, Kant and Hegel. They distrusted the intellectual insight which achieves a unified and comprehensive view of the whole as a whole."—Sorley, *Moral Values*, p. 463.

follower to the grand conclusion, the heavenly home of all believers." Sectarian leaders wish an unquestioning obedience; the early emphasis on Protestant intellectualism is overlooked by church authorities. What they strive to produce is a faith in the *powers that be*, induced by means of certain emotional experiences.

Among Protestants authority is found in reason, conscience, the Bible, or in a continuation of any or all of these with the *Church Organization*. When any person desires to have men tell him what to believe so that he can accept this doctrine as final and infallible rather than having a reason for the faith that is in him, he is a Roman Catholic whether he is worshipping in St. Peter's in Rome or Spurgeon's Tabernacle in London. And it is not so difficult as it might at first seem to discover *Protestant popes* among our clergy who are willing and anxious to dictate to their parishioners with a consciousness of infallibility which might cause Pius X to guard his laurels.⁴

The practical outcomes of such an attitude are that it often causes the Protestant clergy to assume that attitude of sanctimoniousness and self-righteousness so deplored among the Episcopalian or Catholic priesthood; the clergyman becomes a moral poser. And it encourages a *non-moral Christianity* among the people. Revival meetings become mere sentimental debauches; the habitué of revival meetings receives a thrill not unlike that of the habitual theater-goer. Conversion becomes often only an emotional upheaval seldom

⁴ Cutten, *Psychological Phenomena of Christianity*, p. 461.

preceded by any conviction of sin, or any processes of moral judgment, or followed by any moral reform either individual or social.⁵

The Church exists not only as a conserver of established morality but as an agency of progress. Through prophetic interpretation of the will of God for this generation, it ought not only to conserve values but to increase values. The moral values can only be conserved by being increased. And they can only be increased when the churches abandon the dogmatic method of the Catholic Church and begin to take a synoptic view of their problems.

c *Sectarianism Encourages Relativistic Morality.* The claim of each sect to some measure of infallibility for its own peculiar doctrines gives the laity the impression that truth is relative and depends upon the capricious whim of individuals; that what is true for one person may not be true for another, because it fails to satisfy his particular subjective desires. Who shall say that the prospect of a larger salary does not influence the "will to believe" of many a pastor

⁵ "Many luxurious church edifices give the impression that their chief function is to provide for their membership all the instrumentalities for the cultivation of subjective emotional states, deeply devotional and pious frames of mind which bring to the individual keen enjoyment and inner peace, but have little or no bearing upon conduct. At most, they encourage religiosity, a *non-moral Christianity*, which may often and does flourish in the midst of a community cursed with political graft and economic injustice."—Mecklin, *Social Ethics*, p. 269.

"The taint of emotional exploitation on the part of the more sophisticated trustees of religion must long since have killed the church had it not been for the sound objectivity of the people. Their exploitableness is their moral superiority."—Hocking, *Meaning of God in Human Experience*, p. 78.

who changes his denominational affiliation? Church people look with horror upon a free morality governed only by individual caprice. Yet those who argue for diversity of sects as making unity impossible place themselves in the same position as those who argue for the entire relativity of moral values. Sectarianism is individualism gone wild. If we are not to rest content with such a pluralism, we must find some monistic principle uniting the whole. If it is true that each sect presents only a facet of the diamond of truth, then there must be some organic principle which unites the sects as the laws of crystallization unite the facets of the diamond. The truth of Christ ought to comprise all lesser truths as a great comprehensive principle. And a political unity should be evolved to correspond to this inner spiritual unity. Only thus can Christ Himself be presented as the only divine infallible truth, not obscured by numerous fallible, man-made perversions of the truth.

d *Sectarian Education Contains Immoral Elements.*
 '(1) *Divides the Personal Life.* Moral education must produce well-balanced lives issuing in consistent programs of right conduct. The moral act must be such that it can be universalized and contribute to the self-realization of individuals in an increasingly perfect society. The religious foundation of morality must present a universal Person as the object of moral aspiration; a synoptic, universalized, religious view of the world must lie at the basis of moral conduct as its motivation. Sectarianism contradicts the possibility of this unified world view. It splits the foundation

rock upon which morality rests. The churches thus provide no central principles around which the various selves of the individual may be unified. A number of forces in the community are striving for supremacy in the individual's life. There is the business self, the social self, the domestic self, and the church self; each of these worlds of selves is dominated by a customary standard of morality. How is the Church to determine that the morality of the business or social self is not to dominate the life, when the churches instead of presenting a unified Christ self to dominate the personality, present a multitude of sectarian selves, each with their own moods, beliefs, ceremonies, and moral standards? Each sect presents as the whole truth only a partial aspect of the whole truth. The point is: how is the Church to present the Christian ideal of life so that it will dominate the individual and unify his various selves around a great moral and religious ideal—how is the Church to do this when the guides have lost sight of the goal in dispute over the ways of getting there? Truly the way of the divided self, lost among a multitude of community and sectarian ideals, is a real *Via Dolorosa*.

(2) *Encourages Conformity, Obedience, and Docility at the Expense of Initiative and Self-control.* The importance of the formation of right habits and religious attitudes, especially in the early grades of the church school, ought not to be overlooked. It is also true that obedience and initiative are both necessary in a democracy; they are complementary virtues. But there is a danger that the Protestant sects will be

tempted more and more to follow the Catholic practice of catechetical instruction and inculcation of routine habits, and will neglect to foster that type of rational control from within which has characterized the highest type of Protestant morality. Few of our Sunday-schools have introduced forms of student activity which lead to self-control from within rather than a stern discipline imposed from without. In order for moral principles to become the motivating possession of the pupils, they must themselves think through all the implications and applications of moral truths and not simply memorize arbitrary rules.

It is in adolescence that the most rapid advancement is made towards a real inner interpretation of duty, in which it is recognized and accepted as carrying its own credentials and standing in no need of sanctions of any *external* sort whatever. He finds that the right, the commanded and the pleasant cannot by any means be uniformly identified with one another. The mind is beginning to comprehend the meaning of moral privileges as distinguished from arbitrary rules, and of absolute as distinguished from relative values. This marks the movement from external to internal morality.⁶

Herein is seen one reason for insistence upon the introduction of courses in missions, stewardship, modern social problems, and Christian ethics in the upper grades of the church school. This form of education will lay a rational foundation for moral conduct from which we may hope for a solution of our modern social problems in terms of Christian ideals. But this form

⁶ Tracy, *Psychology of Adolescence*, p. 163.

of education is in disfavor with loyal sectarians, for it is feared that reason will be an enemy to a profound faith in sectarian ideals. Therefore, it is held that loyalty to larger Christian social ideals must issue through sectarian channels, and that individuals and communities must take their social programs ready-made from the ecclesiastical organization. Courses in our church schools become tinged with denominational propaganda, and the effort is to force almost unthinking acceptance of traditional ideas or ready-made programs rather than to encourage local initiative or individual self-control.

e Sectarian Organization Has Prevented the Development of the Highest Morality. Sectarianism divides communities over trivialities. We do not stop to consider here the economic sin of wasted resources. Sectarian advocates of stewardship are often inconsistent in applying this doctrine to the larger relationships of the churches in a community. Denominations often insist on dividing a city when the moral course would be to unite. The issues which are made an excuse for division are often based upon anything but moral or religious grounds. The churches often become so particularistic and clannish that they strain over the gnat of formal religion, and swallow the camel of jealousy, distrust, and immorality in general.

An inter-church survey recently made in Indiana was opposed on sectarian grounds. Sentiments such as this were expressed: "If the Methodist Church were on fire and if I should happen to pass by, and if there

were a bucket of water standing near, I would kick the bucket over." Church rivalries may not become so unseemly as this, but the contention latent in unsound organization negatives the Christian spirit and creates a feeling of distrust and religious indifference in the non-church community.

The Episcopal Bishop of Colorado took occasion recently to issue a warning against the pettiness of a narrow view of religion. "Religion narrowly practised and carelessly conceived may cover a multitude of sins. It is then twisted into a means of *depression*, as opposed to its moral function of untrammelled, beautiful, natural *expression*. Religion is in far too many minds connected with the insincere, the hypocritical. *A whole lot of meanness is justified on religious grounds. And to a great extent petty leaders are guiding small people to trivial goals. So I ask you to be fair and honest, even though religious.*"⁷

Another keen interpreter of conditions in frontier communities charges denominationalism with being directly responsible for immoral conditions. Timidity

⁷ "Claim Police Allow Church Fair Gaming. Agricultural Men See Discrimination. The Massachusetts Agricultural Fairs Association at a special meeting here to-day recorded itself in favor of enforcement of laws against games of skill or chance at fairs held by churches in the same manner that such laws are enforced at the agricultural fairs."—*Boston Globe*, November 15, 1923.

"We have still with us in our commercial circles the man who makes his orthodoxy the cover for shadiest transactions; the adventurer who exploits for his own purposes a religious reputation. There are Sicilian bandits who go to mass before setting out on their predatory expeditions. Nearer home their counterparts sing anthems and hear sermons in our churches before robbing their neighbors in the city."—J. Brierley, *The Eternal Religion*, Chap. 23, "Religious Imposture," p. 212.

in dealing with such conditions is due to a divided Church. Each little church is afraid to attack the evil situation alone because of loss of popularity. "Denominationalism is directly responsible for immorality in the community. Too weak to exert any influence alone, and too jealous to act together, the churches do not command the respect of the community, and are unable to stem the tide of prevailing evil. The feeble efforts at consolidation have failed because of a few bigoted sectarians and the zeal of the mission secretaries."⁸

The Church thus loses the respect of respectable non-church people. The outsider, noting the maladministration of church affairs, is given a misunderstanding of Jesus' message. He identifies his disrespect for the Church with disrespect for Christ. The Church's own best leaders are alienated because of the impossibility of working out progressive programs in a mechanism which subordinates the moral to the institutional. An example of immoral competition unparalleled in industry is set before business men by the churches, when they refuse to coöperate in ethical programs of community betterment because to do so would thwart personal ambition or imperil institutional vested interests.⁹

f Denominations Now More Imperial than Democratic. National denominational conventions are

⁸ William Boyle, "Transplanted Denominationalism," *The Outlook*, Vol. 23, p. 323.

⁹ See "Ethics in Home Missions," *Christian Century*, January 31, 1924; also, Thompson, "Industry Instructing the Church," *Zion's Herald*, March 26, 1924.

notably non-representative of the *whole* church population. The national conventions of the large denominations are so far removed from direct contact with all the members that it might be said with much assurance of the truth that a very great proportion of the church members are not even aware that there is such a thing as a national convention or general assembly of their church. Ultimate decisions and definite responsibility for measures or officers is so far removed from the power of the average church member that he is not much interested in the subject. What is needed is some system which will place responsibility definitely and directly on larger and larger numbers of the church electorate. But it may be argued that the general public know nothing about the larger work of the Church. This is true, but it is just as true that expert leadership can never thrive when the public are kept in ignorance and powerlessness. In secular affairs, the same argument, the general incapacity of the people to select leaders or judge measures, has been used to oppose the referendum, to maintain politicians and office-seekers in places which should be filled by statesmen, and in general to bolster up the weakening cause of privilege and autocracy. The same condition maintains in religious affairs. For every religious leader who may be called truly a statesman, there are dozens of politicians, office-seekers, and sectarian opportunists. Like the secular politicians, who are interested in principles merely as campaign issues, so the religious politician will revive a forgotten theological doctrine, if he thinks

THE UNBISHOPING OF
TIMOTHY AND TITUS,

AND OF THE

Angel of the Church of EPHESUS:

OR,

A brief elaborate Discourse, proving Timothy and the ANGEL to be no first, sole, or Diocesan Bishop of Ephesus, nor Titus of Crete; and that the power of Ordination, or imposition of hands, belongs *Jure Divino* to Presbyters, as well as to Bishops, and not to Bishops only, as Bishops; who by *Divine Institution* are evidenced to be one and the same with Presbyters, and many over one City, Church, not one over many Cities or Churches.

Wherein all Objections, Pretences to the contrary are fully answered; and the pretended *Superiority* of Bishops over other Ministers and Presbyters, and their sole right of Ordination *Jure Divino*, (now much contended for) are utterly subverted in a most perspicuous manner.

By WILLIAM PRYNNE Esquire, Benchet of Lincoln's Inne; a Well-wisher to Gods truth, the Kings just Prerogative, the Peoples Liberties, and the Churches Peace.

Matth. 15. 13.

Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted out.

Chrysostom. Opus imperfectum in Matth. Hom. 35.

Si nemine desideraverit Primatum in terra, inveniet in Cælo confusionem; ut jam inter servos Christi, non sit de Primatu certamen.

First Compiled, Printed in the year 1636. Reprinted for pull like good and satisfaction, Anno 1660. And are to be sold by Edward Thomas at the Adam and Eve in Little Britain.

PLATE V. ON THE EQUALITY OF BISHOPS AND PRESBYTERS

By a Well-wisher to Gods truth, the Kings just Prerogative, the Peoples Liberties, and the Churches Peace (1636).

that by so doing he will be able to trap an opponent. The church convention system, like the political party convention system, readily lends itself to machine control. Statesmen in the Church will find themselves continually out-manœvered by the politicians until there is an intelligent and powerful public opinion to which to appeal.

3 THE FUTURE OF DENOMINATIONALISM

A history of denominational bodies from the early years of their organization in this country will show at least two tendencies, one toward imperial centralization in the larger denominations, the other toward the development of free, democratic, voluntary associations to do the work of missions, evangelism, education, social service, etc. These developments present a striking parallel to the Franciscan and Dominican monastic offshoots from the Roman Church at the height of its imperial power. The churches in America have been subject to the continual leavening of democratic influences.

Is it too much to expect that further progress will see the invention or adoption of methods designed to bring the immediate control of national religious organizations within the direct power of larger and larger numbers of the electorate. Devices for this purpose may be taken over from the field of secular political science and adapted to the particular and peculiar needs and nature of democratic religious organization.

The future of denominationalism is bound up with this development of democracy. The democratic principle must be applied within separate denominations, and extended to the field of coöperative endeavor. If the denominations are not to be destroyed by churches cherishing cosmopolitan and imperial principles, they must adopt some effective form of interdenominational union. They are in the position of hanging together or else hanging separately. The formation of powerful interchurch unions, local and national, will provide an avenue for the extension of the principles of democracy to church government, and will also provide the only available means for the necessary preservation of the merits and advantages of denominational life.

The crisis which has come in the life of the churches of the present day is due to the fact that the state is becoming Christianized faster than the Church is becoming democratized. In the endeavor to introduce and develop Christian democracy in the state, the Church has neglected to bring her own practices up to the ideals of her own preaching. The result is that the Church as an institution appears, like many of her ministers, as a moral poser, giving pious advice to parishioners whose civic quality and community democracy already transcend that found in the organization of the Church itself.

The secretary of the Federal Council ¹⁰ pictures the

¹⁰ Dr. Charles S. Macfarland, *Annual Report*, Federal Council Churches of Christ in America, 1922, p. 7.

warring nations of the world, and both capital and labor saying to the churches, "When we see the score of churches in the community joining in effective co-operative action, thinking not of building up their own organizations but only of most fully serving the community, then your word will come to us with power and not till then."

Denominationalism and democracy were born under the same star. Their future lies together. The future of denominationalism demands that church and interchurch organizations be brought up to the democratic standard now sought by progressive leaders in state and interstate affairs by reason of the impact of the Reformation. Luther aimed his Reformation at the Church, but because of the political winds blowing at the time it hit the state. Hence, the work that Luther and Calvin began, and for which they laid the foundation in their gospels of truth, remains to be completed, namely, the reformation of the Church.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1 Define denominationalism. What are the distinctive marks of a denomination? Are there any denominations in existence to-day which conform exactly to your definition and description?

2 To what extent is it true and to what extent false that "a man without a denomination might well be likened unto a man without a country"?

3 What arguments may be given for the recognition and preservation of denominational integrity?

4 What are the defects and limitations of denominationalism? Is it true that sectarian organization has prevented the development of the highest morality?

5 Does the autocratic organization of various denominations prevent their functioning as creative and progressive forces in the religious life of America?

6 What in your opinion is to be the future of denominationalism in this country? Describe some possible alternative developments. Which course of action offers the most promise of saving denominationalism from its present destruction and decay?

7 Do you agree with the following authority in his views on party government? In any case is a religious denomination sufficiently analogous to a political party so that one can say, "it has no rational justification," or "its historic foundation has collapsed"?

This basis [of party government] is antiquated. It rests on conceptions contrary to the modern spirit and on political conditions which have ceased to exist. Party came down to us as an inheritance of the theological and ecclesiastical age. Its organization resembled that of the adherents of a creed invested, like the creed of a Church, with the sanction of orthodoxy and heterodoxy. The adherence had to be undivided; one could not differ from the party on any article of its faith any more than one could choose between the dogmas of a religion. Like the Church which takes charge of all the spiritual needs of a man, Party demanded the whole citizen. Conformity with the party need was the sole rule of political conduct; like a religious faith it conferred saving Grace on all its members present and to come, without further effort on their part. Since the advent of Democracy, party formed on an ecclesiastical basis has possessed no more rational justification in facts. Its historic formation has collapsed.¹¹

8 How far may the following statements be applied to religious organizations?

¹¹ Ostrogorski, *Democracy and Party*, p. 437.

The party convention system has seriously weakened the citizens' hold on the government, diminished the efficiency of the machinery of government provided by the Constitution, and has hampered the living forces which are its real motive powers.¹²

It is stated and conceded on every hand that the whole representative system is in the hands of the *machine*; that there is no one anywhere whom we can hold publicly responsible; that it is hide and seek who shall be punished, who rewarded, who rejected, who preferred. The concern of patriotic men is to put our government again on its right basis by substituting the popular will for the control of guardians, the processes of common council for those of private arrangements.¹³

9 To what extent do economic forces perpetuate sectarianism and prevent union? Do you agree with the following suggestions that denominational rivalry can be reduced to terms of commercial competition?

Another obstacle is a superstitious fear of *church socialism*. Great buildings, valuable sites, wealthy churches, large and successful publication houses, and a number of other interests, it is feared would have to go into the melting pot.¹⁴

A large proportion of the contributors to home missions in the churches have come to believe that their funds are being employed to correct the shameful evil of sectarian duplication. But as a matter of fact the bulk of home mission funds is still used to perpetuate this pernicious practice of foisting needless sectarian organizations upon spiritually languishing communities.¹⁵

It is the hardest conceivable spiritual feat for ecclesiastical officials to move in any atmosphere charged with the fumes of commercial success without being morally poisoned.¹⁶

10 After reading the following quotation, consider its ap-

¹² Ostrogorski, *Democracy and Party*, p. 364.

¹³ Woodrow Wilson, "Hide and Seek Politics," *North American Review*, November, 1910.

¹⁴ McComb, *Psychology of Sects*, p. 69.

¹⁵ *The Christian Century*, January 31, 1924, p. 136.

¹⁶ McConnell, "What Shall the Churches Do with the Young Radicals?" *Journal of Religion*, July, 1923, p. 398.

plications to sectarian organization; for example: (a) Has machine politics driven capable men from their denominations and prevented the denominations from securing the highest type of leadership? (b) In your judgment, have recent sectarian leaders sought to control by "giving their adherents ideas or by giving them places"?

Real leadership can be obtained in a political community only on four essential conditions: the men capable of exercising the leadership must have easy access to public life; those men who are allowed political influence must assume the responsibility attaching to it; for this responsibility to be a reality it must be enforced by popular control; to be efficacious the action of the leaders must be sure of continuity. Now under the caucus régime, *ideas, conviction, character, alike disqualify a man for public life*; they make him, to use the popular expression, unavailable. *The party organization always gives the preference to colourless, weak, easily, managed men.* In any event, its *visa*, its assent is required for entering public life. And if men, even the most distinguished, aspire to lead from outside the ranks of officialism, they would again be stopped by the caucus régime, *unless content to act through the Press.* If in theory the first duty of a leader consists in giving his adherents *ideas*, his first and only duty in the United States is to give them places. To be able to bestow these he must have some sort of hold over the party machinery. One is therefore in a vicious circle.¹⁷

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CHAPTER VII

DOCTRINAL RECONCILIATION

I IMPORTANCE OF DOCTRINE

a *In Interpreting Religious Experiences.* If religious experience were so ineffable as to be incommunicable it would have for us no interest or value. But fortunately we are able to describe our religious experiences in definite terms, and state their meaning for us in definable ideas. These ideas, which have a meaning in common for all, become the units of intellectual exchange. By means of them we are able, not only to conduct our own thinking, but also to communicate to others our experience with God and Christ, and our thought on religious subjects.

But we have ideas on other subjects than religion. We have experiential contact with the world as well as with God. It becomes necessary for us to relate our religious experiences to all other experiences, to place religious ideas coherently in a systematic "world of ideas." Man, as a rational being, cannot escape this necessity for system-building. Since religion deals with the nature of the world as a whole, religion is the source of our desire to attain a synthetic or synoptic view of the world as a whole. Religion without theology or creeds therefore would be untrue to its own spirit. It is a demand of our religious feeling, as well

as of the intellect, that we have a reason for the faith that is in us. As a rational being man cannot long remain loyal to an irrational conception. The man who has a religious experience is a thinking as well as a feeling being. People do not wait until they have had training in theology to think about their religious experiences, and to express that thought in the form of ideas, however humble or inadequate. A religion which was all feeling without any thought would be but dumb devotion to a blind God. The religion of the inarticulate is always in danger that it will die a-borning. The more reason, then, why the religiously inarticulate should be given some true religious ideas which will help them to express their religious experiences adequately. Historic periods when doctrinal fidelity meant life or death may have been the Dark Ages in religion, but they were not the Dead Ages. Professor Hocking sums up this aspect of the importance of doctrine in these words: "It is only by a recovery of theoretical conviction that religion can either maintain its own vitality or contribute anything specific to human happiness. . . . Holding our pragmatic test to religion, requiring of it that it do its work, we will have no religion without a theory; we will have no religion without a creed."

Thought about religious subjects tends to produce religious feelings. And religious experience is thought-producing, fertile in new ideas, draws scattered thoughts into a single focus, creates new conceptions. The great mystics and prophets come away from their contact with the divine, not only emotionally inspired,

but with an increase of intellectual power, a new store of knowledge. This knowledge of revelation may be stated, necessarily, in terms of old ideas, but it is as a synthetic combination of ideas which never existed before in the same combination; it is new knowledge. Religion has provided the catalyzing agent necessary for the union of scattered intellectual elements into a new idea. The concentration of attention and emotion in the attempt to see life in terms of the idea of the whole produces a new coördination of ideas which could never have been brought into existence without the use of the God-idea. The messages of the great prophets teem with ideals. Through this idealism comes their power. They do not attempt to communicate their religious message in terms of feeling, like Hindu dervishes, nor to gain power over the people by gross hypnotism or imposture, like primitive magic workers. They speak in terms of ideas to rational beings. All great religious appeal contains ideal elements. The most emotional revivalist usually has *a few* ideas. Religion given over entirely to emotion unguided by judgment soon becomes a byword and a mockery. "Deficit of mind," says Professor Hocking, "must always be a weakness in religion, and must rob that religion at last of all its mordant power. A great religion will produce, and demand of its adherents that they reproduce, some great idea or system of ideas. Such is the evident purport of history."¹

Ideas of religious objects, as ideas of other objects, are of two kinds: the idea of the whole, and the idea

¹ *Meaning of God In Human Experience*, p. 59.

of the part. The whole-idea comes immediately upon perception of the object; the part-idea follows upon further analysis of the idea of the whole. Two persons meeting a mutual friend have at once a total impression of his existence and character. But they will describe his appearance in different terms; their analysis of his character will proceed from different points of view; and further acquaintance may make necessary a revision of judgment. The four evangelists brought different standpoints to the interpretation of Jesus. Their immediate idea of His existence was unquestioned; their analysis did not destroy but only strengthened their judgment of His divinity. Nevertheless this common experience and common judgment is expressed in different concepts in various idea systems in each of the evangelists, notably in Matthew and John. This is an illustration that there may be disagreement in part-ideas while there is perfect accord as to the whole-idea. This same tendency of the mind appears in the relation of purpose to method. Agreement as to the goal-idea does not mean that there necessarily needs to be agreement as to the method-idea. There may be variety of methods of realizing a commonly accepted ideal.

But ideas, like nations, have not only internal but also external relations. Concepts, in logical phrase, have both intension and extension. Examination of internal relationships leads to analysis; of external relationships, to synthesis. Religious ideas have especial need to be related to the ideas gained from experiences in other aspects of life. Because religion

professes to bring a revelation as to the source and purpose of life, as to origins and destiny, all the facts of life must be set in coherent relation to religious facts if doubt is not to be thrown on the religious interpretation. Thus to make clear the place of religion in the whole of life is the minister's task. Some relating of ideas, some system-building, some theology is the necessary product of this attempt to gain and present a religious view of the plan of life as a whole. It should be pointed out that though we may be perfectly clear as to the existence of an object, its relations to other objects may not be so evident. There is a great difference between knowing a thing and reasoning about it. We know an object immediately by means of a combination of feeling and judgment called intuition. Reasoning is a process of finding relations which are not self-evident. Here lies the source of most disagreements in the field of religion. The existence of God and the divinity of Christ are matter of common acceptance. But the relations of God to Christ and of both to the world of nature and human society give rise to various theological hypotheses.

Thus we are brought by an appreciation of the necessity of doctrine to a consideration of some of the dangers and difficulties to which its misapplication may lead.

Ideas are merely symbols of experience and must not be confused with the experience itself. Ideas, it has been said, are primarily to think *with*, not *of*. Only a part of any experience can be represented in

the definition of it; ideas are a strictly delimited "piece of mind." All this is especially true of religious experience. Religious experiences are so vast and infinitely mysterious that any attempt to define them seems like trying to "decoy limitless genii into stoppered bottles." Religious experience, especially Christian experience, engages the whole man in all his powers of feeling and willing as well as of thinking. We feel that the heart of religion is love and that attempts to describe the divine love in words must always prove futile. To quote Professor Hocking again: "We bow our minds in well-considered humility as we approach the infinite. Religion belies itself when it expands in verbiage. For speech at its best is only partial wisdom whereas the wisdom of religion is entire." We feel that we care more for religion than for the manifold theories which have been developed about it; that real religion should call us not to acknowledge truths but to love realities; that the exposition of a feeling is always weaker than the feeling itself, and that the love of God surpasses our feeble attempts to explain it or even to communicate it; that its communication is more than a human task, requiring a divine Saviour. Conceiving religion thus as largely feeling, we may look upon the creeds as noble but finite expressions of the faith of the human race in the infinite love of God, as "the historic voice of a total confidence in destiny." ²

But we must recall that in religion feeling is ulti-

² See Hocking, W. E., *The Meaning of God in Human Experience*, Part II, "Religious Feeling and Religious Theory."



PLATE VI. CHURCH OF AUSTIN FRIARS

This church was composed of people of many languages, who were refugees for Protestantism's sake from the continent of Europe. To them, in 1550, was given the church of the Augustinian Friars, later called the church of Austin Friars, located in the very heart of the old city of London. If Zurich and Geneva were the birth-place of the reformed doctrinally, this was their birth-place in complete local organization. The first congregation formed along purely Presbyterian lines was founded here by John A'Lasco, the Polish reformer. This congregation was not under a Bishop and so Lasco had a free hand in organizing it along democratic lines. Besides the offices of elder and deacon, Lasco established a teaching order coequal with the preaching order. These officers were elected by the congregation. Whereas Calvin's Presbyterianism was aristocratic, Lasco's was democratic. Lasco improved on the Genevan system, and deserves great credit for his work in extending the principles of democracy to church government.—Good, J. I., *Famous Places of the Reformed Churches*.

mately inseparable from idea. Religious feeling stimulates the formation of ideas to explain and communicate it. And it is ideas about God and destiny which arouse the highest feeling. Drive the ideas out of religion, and no feeling and so no religion is left.

A further danger of divorcing idea from feeling is that the idea will then no longer truly represent the religious experience. Ideas must be true to themselves, cohere with each other; but they must also be true to actual experience, true to life. There is danger in worshiping or idolizing an *idea* for its own sake, forgetting that it is only a symbol of the more essential reality. There is also the danger that the speculative arrangement of ideas in mechanical form will become static and untrue to the historic development of richer experience and wider knowledge. As the Holy Spirit leads into new truth, our finite verbal systems must be restated so as not to belie the leadings of the Spirit.³ New scientific knowledge means a rearrangement of our ideas about the world and of the relation of God to the world. Our conception of God must be big enough to account for His world and His relation to it. But though our knowledge of God's goodness may grow from more to more, the idea of the existence of God is a necessary and permanent aspect of experience; just as our conception of the existence of space

³ "Often in the history of mankind both the theory and the faith which it expresses in intellectual terms have been shattered in contact with the growing forces of life. At other times the faith may remain intact in its spiritual essence, while the doctrinal forms in which it was expressed are proved inadequate and new forms have to be sought."—Sorley, *Moral Values*, p. 299.

is primary and fundamental, although our analysis of the nature of space may increase our knowledge about it. Although there is some scientific dogmatism, most scientists are content to admit that their hypotheses and systems are to a large degree tentative. Religious hypotheses are tentative also, in so far as they deal with reasonings and relations, rather than with the fundamental objects of religious experience; they may be constructed into positive systems of doctrine but always, "with reservations and conditions, not yet wholly known." This means the continued development of systems of ideas as the power of the Holy Spirit increasingly moves in human life. Jesus spoke of the insufficiency of old bottles for new wine. The old idea-vessels become no longer adequate to contain the new wine of the spirit. It is of no service to religion to polish up the old bottles, refurbish the old idea-systems with new verbiage. Our thought-systems must be kept true to the growing power of the Holy Spirit in life. The truth to be revealed by the Holy Spirit is infinite. In view of our finite powers of learning and acting, "we shall never become civilized in respect to God." Acquiring knowledge about an infinite God is an infinite task. A more perfect interpretation of the mind and will of God for mankind in varied circumstances and changing relationships may well be the work of generations and races of men. This contrast between religious doctrine and religious experience is pointed out by Dr. Fosdick as follows:

The crux of [theological] conflict lies at this point: one party thinks that the essence of Christianity is its original mental

frameworks; the other party is convinced that the essence of Christianity is its abiding experiences. To one party a mental category once worked out and expressed in Scripture is final. Men must never carry the living water in any other receptacle than that; to do so is to forego the right to call oneself Christian. . . . To the other party nothing in human history seems so changeable as mental categories. They are transient phrasings of permanent convictions and experiences. . . . To bind our minds to ancient matrices of thought just because they were employed in setting forth the eternal principles of the New Testament seems intellectual suicide. What is permanent in Christianity is not mental frameworks but abiding experiences that phrase and rephrase themselves in successive generations' ways of thinking and that grow in assured certainty and richness of content. . . . Life eternal, the coming of the kingdom, the conquest of sin and evil, the indwelling and sustaining presence of the Spirit, these are the gist of the matter once set forth in ancient terms but abidingly valid in our terms too, and valid also in other terms than ours in which our children's children may express them.⁴

b Importance of Doctrine in Guiding Christian Conduct. The assumptions which the Christian religion makes in regard to the nature of the universe are essential to the validation of moral acts. In order that our conduct may be for the best we must take everything into account and assume that the ends we set up for ourselves are in harmony with the purposes of the universe. The struggle for the attainment of perfection would be in vain if the universe should prove unfavorable to the good life. When we decide to do right, to obey conscience, we are simply express-

⁴ Fosdick, H. E., *The Modern Use of the Bible*, pp. 103, 129.

ing our religious faith in the justice of the universe, our confidence in the righteousness of the Determiner of destiny. Furthermore, ethics would lack its universal and impelling quality were it not for the crowning ideal of perfection in the universal mind, the sinless soul of the Divine Christ. The Christian religion thus furnishes an absolute gold standard by which all the baser moral metals may be judged. Without such an absolute standard, righteousness would be relative to individual caprice, a matter of personal taste; individualism, skepticism, anarchy would have the right of way in our personal and social morality.

c Importance of Doctrine in Safe-guarding the Christian State. Not only individual moral decisions but the conduct of a state, decisions as to social purposes, also involve assumptions as to the nature of the universe. If we accept the idealistic theory of the state as a moral organization, we are under the necessity of accepting the Christian view of the world as the ground of morality. If on the other hand we reject the Christian view, then we must turn to the realistic theory of the state and the materialistic philosophy on which it is based. We must be prepared to see the "savagery of interests" displace *conscience* from its throne at the heart of the world. The general acceptance of the realistic view of the state, and of materialistic aims of human endeavor, could only mean the decay of morality, the rapid decline of democracy, and the fall of the state into autocracy on the one hand, or, on the other, anarchy.

d *Importance of Doctrine in Building the Christian Church.*⁵ There are certain theories of the state, such as those of the philosophical anarchist, the political realist, and the Russian bolshevist, which if accepted in their organized form as an integral part of political society would mean the destruction of the Christian state. So there are also various theories about religion, such as the pantheism of the Orient, or the "religion of social values" of Western democracy, acceptance of which as an organized part of the Church would mean that it could no longer be denominated the *Christian Church*, and that as a Christian Church it was doomed to destruction. The visible Church must correspond in some degree to the invisible union of believers bound together by faith in a common Lord. Certain fundamental ideas of the Christian faith—the personality of God, the divinity of Christ, the inspiration of the Bible as a record of the progressive revelation of God, the immortality of the soul, the kingdom of God—are the foundation of the Christian Church. Without some common knowledge and common agreement about these subjects the Chris-

⁵ "As he that should in any principal doctrine differ from Plato (denying the 'immortality of the soul,' the 'providence of God,' the 'natural difference of good and evil,') would not be a Platonist; so he that dissenteth from any doctrine of importance, manifestly taught by Christ, doth renounce Christianity."—Barrow, Isaac, *Discourse Concerning the Unity of the Church*.

"There be two false peaces or unities: the one, when the peace is groundd but upon an implicit ignorance, for all colours will agree in the dark: the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points, for truth and falsehood in such things are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image—they may cleave but they will not incorporate."—Bacon on *Unity in Religion*.

tian Church as a distinct institution could not exist.

This uncertainty as to its doctrinal foundation is the fundamental weakness of the community church movement. Its one commendable feature is that it recognizes the principle of regionalism (see Chapter V). Certain leaders of this movement, however, seem to be so anxious that the residents of a given territory shall never disagree that they are willing to compromise on the fundamentals of the faith. The God which this species of community church worships is the finite god described as the personification of the social ideals of the community. The average moral level of the average community is a poor foundation on which to build any institution, especially in the absence of the absolute ideals of Christ, which are *suitable* for communities but *not created by* communities. If the community church movement should adopt as its standard the religion of the average man (the religion of Democracy with a capital D) rather than the religion of Christianity, the word "community," which so fitly represents the *Christian fellowship*, would soon come to stand for *irreligion*. It is a case of crying not only, Peace! Peace! when there is no peace, but also, Lord! Lord! when there is no Lord! ⁶

A keen writer in the *Atlantic Monthly* gives us a clever and accurate picture of the situation which would

⁶ Compare, for example, the doctrinal position of E. S. Ames, *The New Orthodoxy*, in which God is placed on the same level with Uncle Sam as the personification of finite social ideals, and the Church regarded as a natural social grouping similar to a university, Alma Mater having just as much symbolic significance as the Mother of our Lord or as Christ Himself.

Compare also Stanton Coit's two volumes, *National Idealism and a*

result if the fundamentals of Christian doctrine were thus abandoned:

Liberals talk of consolidating the churches. Well, suppose the churches were to be really consolidated, not only all the Baptist churches merged with the Methodist, but the synagogues, the Friends' meetings, the Roman Catholic churches, the Greek Catholic churches, and all the variety of Protestant churches reduced to one or two very large, strong, centrally located churches fitted with plenty of amplifiers. The Sunday-morning service would not be the meagre, narrow, intense service of the old churches; there would be something to every taste; there would be a sermon by the rabbi and one by the Quaker, a reading by the Christian Science leader together with an exhortation by the priest, a discourse by the Naturalist and one by the Supernaturalist. The churchgoer, sitting there among his twenty or thirty thousand fellows, would not exactly 'hear both sides'; he would hear only what could give offense to none; real differences would change automatically to merely formal differences. These consolidated churches would be financially better based, more efficient. And religion would be free, very free indeed, broad, so broad it would eventually be pretty nearly flat.⁷

2 DISADVANTAGES OF DOCTRINAL RECONCILIATION AS A METHOD OF UNION

a Union as a Doctrinal Problem. The importance of efforts at doctrinal reconciliation, to find the uni-

State Church, and *A Book of Common Prayer*, which contain bold proposals for constructing a national Church and liturgy on an ethical rather than a religious basis. "Such a church," says Professor Hobhouse, "would be in no sense a Christian Church."

⁷ Samuel Strauss, "Things are in the Saddle," *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1924.

versal truth which underlies our universal religious experience, is not to be underestimated.⁸ As Dr. James Cooper once said, "The truth will bring peace, *the truth as it is in Jesus*, stated, apprehended, grasped with intense realization of the duties it imposes." We must also recognize the value and necessity for the stability of any political organization, of a large body of common knowledge, sentiments, ideals, and loyalties, especially common loyalty to a Divine Saviour. These fundamental loyalties, however, will be more surely secured and more widely disseminated by means of a united rather than a divided Church.

Among the more recent conferences and councils which have produced a growing unity of thought in religious matters the following should be mentioned:

The Evangelical Alliance (1864).

The National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches of England (1895).

The Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom.

The Churchmen's Union (1896).

Christian Unity Association of Scotland (1900).

Australian Conference on Church Union (1907).

World Conference on Faith and Order (1910).

Denominational Commissions:

Christian Unity Foundation (1910), Protestant Episcopal.

⁸ "We must agree that formal doctrinal matters are secondary—that the important consideration is the type of life that follows the use of a doctrine. But this does not mean that doctrines are not worth talking about. Their instrumental nature makes them all the more worth talking about. Doctrines are the tools by which faith deals with life, and must be resharpened occasionally."—McConnell, *Living Together*, p. 65.

Association for the Promotion of Christian Unity (1910),
Disciples.

Committee on Church Coöperation and Union, Presby-
terian.

Committee on Comity, Federation, and Unity (1910),
Congregational.

The Fellowship Movement (1911).

Universal Conference of the Church of Christ on Life and
Work (1920).

The Lambeth Conference (1924).

The Mürren Conference⁹ (1924).

Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, Stock-
holm (1925).

The great contribution of these conferences is that they have helped to create a common understanding in regard to Christian fundamentals. They have helped to give us common knowledge, common terms of communication, common sympathies and ideals. They have helped to create a union of spirit and opinion. The recent Lambeth Conference suggested a common basis of belief in the Holy Scriptures and the Christian creed, the acceptance of the two sacraments, baptism and communion, and a common ministry recognized by all the churches. According to the interpretation given by a leading member of that conference (Dr. Arthur C. Headlam), Scriptures and Creed were adopted as a basis of union because they represent the Christian experience of past generations with God and Christ and the Holy Spirit. These terms of union are admittedly not stated in modern phraseol-

⁹ Complete report of this conference in *The Review of the Churches*, Jan. 1925.

ogy, but they are terms clearly associated with the realities of Christian experience. This attempt to center upon the fundamental ideas of Christianity, stated in the venerable language of the sacrificial generations that are gone, is commendable because it brings into prominence the whole-idea, the God-idea, and the Christ-idea which are matters of immediate experience, while part-ideas are a matter of analysis. The creed is significant because it represents these great essential experiences and not because it embodies, as in the more elaborate credal statements, a whole system of theology. The sacraments were included as a basis of union because they were regarded as essential to the creating of real religious experience; but the conference agreed not to try to agree as to any theory of baptismal efficiency, of the atonement or the eucharist, as that would be an "inadvisable attempt to define the infinitely mysterious." In attempting to legislate as to the observance of the sacraments and the ordination of the ministry, it seems that the conference here undertakes matters of method and technique which would be better left to the individual determination of the separate sects. Union efforts should center attention on ideals, goals, and purposes, and not restrict the development and use of any effective methods of attaining the goal, the ideal of the Christ-like life. In cutting away doctrinal unessentials these conferences have helped to unite the sects around Christ as the one institution of the Church.

"There are, it is true, certain simple, cardinal doctrines growing *directly* out of experience, such as the

Fatherhood of God, the Redemptive Personality of Christ, the guidance of the Spirit, the Life Immortal, upon which we all agree. It is upon these, next to faith itself, that we should throw our common emphasis. Upon less essential doctrines we should agree to differ." ¹⁰

S. Parkes Cadman states the essentials even more simply. He says, "Underneath denominational varieties, as the earth's strata are underneath its fauna and flora, is a consciousness of God in Jesus Christ which is the invincible citadel of Protestantism." ¹¹

If any defects in the results of these conferences is to be mentioned it should be that they seem to strive for doctrinal uniformity chiefly for administrative purposes. They fail to recognize the necessity for diversity of opinion and temperament, and to distinguish between matters of doctrine and matters of polity. As Professor Hocking has pointed out, creeds have fallen into disrepute because so often used not as a religious, devotional device, but as a political, administrative device for bringing unorthodox members into line. "Creeds have served as weapons of warfare and persecution and inner partisan rivalries. Disfavor toward the polemic method of religious promotion thus adds itself to the distrust of the intellect, in the rise of the religion of feeling." ¹² There is therefore always suspicion that doctrinal conferences are motivated by political aims, especially when doctrines as to the essentials of religious experience are not clearly distin-

¹⁰ Professor J. W. Buckham, *Religion as Experience*, p. 126.

¹¹ *Christianity and the State*, p. 345.

¹² *Meaning of God in Human Experience*, p. 42.

guished from doctrines as to methods of administration or church polity. The doctrine of apostolic succession, for example, is an anachronism, as hostile to political democracy as the theory of the divine right of kings.

Furthermore, the uniformity of doctrine as to methods and administration, after which these conferences strive, might be attained in an autocracy but never in a democracy. Variety of methods and doctrinal statements are essential to the discovery of new truth and the appreciation of old truth. Religious truth and political justice are eternal in principle, but, like life itself, they have numerous manifestations and applications. A church or a state not flexible enough to meet the demand for a restatement of doctrine or a reshaping of laws must crack, as have all historic autocracies, before the growing life from within.

The point to be made clear is that unity of political organization can never come if it is made to wait upon doctrinal reconciliation alone. The suggestion that the realinement of the future will be along liberal and conservative lines is faulty in this respect. A defensible scheme of church government must provide for the union of both conservative Christians and liberal Christians under one administration. Men who differ in theory often agree in practice; differing in doctrine they agree in moral valuations. Political arrangements must therefore deal with the whole life, and will come nearer to uniting men when based on ethical rather than intellectual considerations only.

b *Union as a Moral Problem.* Doctrine and polity

have been the Scylla and Charybdis which have prevented efforts at church union from reaching the haven of peace. Historically, now one and now the other has been uppermost as a cause of controversy. They are closely related and often confused; some times doctrine has been used as a camouflage to defeat an opponent when the real issue was purely political. The relative importance of these aspects of the problem in our own time may be ascertained by considering the relationship of the doctrinal, ethical, and political aspects of church life. This relationship is much that of the relation of thought, feeling, and will in the life of an individual. One's conduct and disposition are largely formed before a systematic intellectual view of life is built up, and yet by taking thought we are often brought to modify our habits of conduct. The Church seeks to present a Way of Life by means of the worship of a divine personality. For, as the Rev. Peter Ainslie says: "Truth is not apart from personal life—a fact that needs to be written in letters of gold. This is the force of Christ's statement when he said, 'I am the Truth.' " The Church's doctrines and creeds are an attempt to give a convenient intellectual expression as to what this best life means. Hence, creeds and beliefs of the past are so closely associated with moral values that any attempt to recast these forms into new intellectual molds is met as a violation of the sacred. Yet, as we grasp truth not alone by the intellect but by the whole life, it would seem that philosophical disputation was important only as it does involve moral values. Why quarrel over the logical

expression or intellectual formulation of beliefs, when it is admitted that at bottom they all represent a similar religious experience and all issue in a righteous life? Realizing that the demands of logic must be met, yet since men are not entirely intellectual beings is it not reasonable to suppose that the logic of their lives would outstrip complete doctrinal statements of the experience involved? Jesus did not ask that his disciples master a complete philosophical system or accept an infallible systematic theology before they could proceed to follow Him. He tested Peter's belief in Him and love of Him by the command, "Feed my sheep." Jesus' command was to love God with all heart and soul and mind and strength. It would seem that the churches in their doctrinal emphasis were attempting to worship with the mind only. Jesus' disciples knew that the test of faith was works. Paul said, "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control." It appears as though an over-emphasis on the intellectual elements of faith is leading to a neglect of the command to serve God with all thy heart and strength as well as with all thy mind. Before church leaders attack the rationalists for their speculative perversions, let them balance their own advocacy of doctrine by a little closer coöperation in securing the fruits of the Spirit to our social order. Philosophical distinctions are important when they are vital enough to modify conduct. The churches, however, are practically agreed upon their ethical and social message. A careful examination might disclose

some difference in the general moral level of different Christian sects because of particular doctrines held, but this moral difference is so slight that any one but a bigoted sectarian would hesitate to pass judgment upon either character or doctrine. The Rev. Peter Ainslie says, "In the midst of these doctrinal controversies many of the various divisions have gone on steadily producing *the fruit of the Spirit*, proving by that evidence which is stronger than logic, that those matters which have been the occasion of severe controversies and causes of divisions belong in the realm of formal Christianity, where the largest freedom is to be given."¹³ Creedal discussion without reference to its moral significance appears as barren as scholastic speculation. So long as there is this agreement as to moral outcomes, the situation in our present day as to Christian union is one involving not so much doctrinal as ethical considerations.

In all her seizures of belief the Church must aim at the satisfaction of the total life of mankind. The Church does not reason her way to convictions by exclusive reliance upon the logical and speculative faculty. She makes assumptions which seem necessary to the satisfaction of religious needs. If belief cannot be brought into harmony with the demands of the logical nature, or if there is manifest conflict with facts, the Church must surrender or readjust her doctrines. But she is not a merely logical or metaphysical instrument. Her beliefs are the expression of life and are in turn expected to justify themselves in life. By their fruits even the doctrines are to be known. The Church's function in relation to reli-

¹³ *A United Church*, p. 93.

gious certainty is not to pronounce in an artificially dogmatic way upon beliefs, but to show that the belief springs out of life and that it fosters life. She does not produce certainty by declaring that this or that is true, but by nourishing the kind of life that begets faith.¹⁴

Religious experience brings the individual who has it into relation with a power or reality greater than himself, through which he is reconciled to life and in which he finds security for the ideals which appeal to him as of supreme worth. When reflection supervenes upon this experience the dangerous process of describing and naming begins.¹⁵

We need to get away from the notion that the end of the religious life is the acquisition of truth, and to realize that it is the acquisition of God; away from the notion that there is or can be a complete system of truth about God and divine law, and realize that He is infinite and we finite, and that we can but know in part and prophesy in part; away from the notion that the church is primarily a teaching institution, equipped with truth which it is to give to others, and to learn that the Church is a life-giving institution, stirring men up to do their own thinking, that each may reach for himself his own result; away from the medieval notion that the loyalty of the Church is to an organization, a creed or a book, and learn that it is to the Jehovah of the Old Testament, the Christ of the New Testament, the God of life.¹⁶

Although doctrinal exhibitions of the great system of Divine truths and defensive testimonies in opposition to the prevailing

¹⁴ McConnell, *Religious Certainty*, p. 95.

See also King, H. C., *Theology and the Social Consciousness*, Chap. 7, "The Thorough Ethicizing of Religion."

See Smith, F. B. "Systematic Theology and Christian Ethics, Chap. 9 of his *Guide to the Study of the Christian Religion*.

¹⁵ Sorley, *Moral Values*, p. 478.

¹⁶ Abbott, *Rights of Man*, p. 193, Chap. VI, "Religious Rights."



PLATE VII. CHURCH OF KNIGHTS TEMPLARS

The Temple Church, London, was originally the seat in England of the famous Order of Knights Templars. On the dissolution of the religious orders in 1540, the property passed to the Crown. The church became a "peculiar," i. e., exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. After 1585 Richard Hooker was made Master of the Temple over the head of a Puritan, Walter Travers, who was already reader there.

Hooker's London life was troubled with ecclesiastical controversy, which he disliked, yet which he would not attempt to avoid when once it was forced upon him. His colleague, Travers, represented that party in the Church of England which desired the adoption of Genevan ideas and usages, whereas Hooker stood for the episcopal establishment. These opposite views were reflected in the preaching at the Temple. "The forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, and the afternoon Geneva" was the current saying. Presbyterianism was either more popular, or else it had the better presentation, for we hear that the congregation "ebbed in the morning" (when Hooker preached) and "flowed in the afternoon" (to hear Travers).

The Puritan champion was at last silenced by Archbishop Whitgift, but the discussion was continued in print. Hooker was so deeply stirred by the question at issue that he determined to give it exhaustive treatment in book form, and at once entered upon the preparation of what became the celebrated *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*.—Adapted from Izaak Walton's *Life of Richard Hooker*; and *Temple Church*, by George Worley.

errors are highly expedient, and the more full and explicit they be for those purposes the better; yet as these must be in a great measure the effect of human reasoning, and of course must contain many inferential truths, they ought not to be made terms of Christian communion.¹⁷

c Union as a Religious Problem. But it has been said that not only will men not think alike about their Christian experience but they will never feel the same about it either. Psychologists and sociologists, writing to prove this thesis, have drawn detailed diagrams of the denominational temperaments, showing with unerring exactitude that the separate lines representing the different kinds of religious feeling never cross or overlap or touch each other. A Quaker is a Quaker, and a Methodist is a Methodist, and never the twain shall meet. This doctrine followed to its logical conclusion would lead to pluralism in philosophy and relativism in ethics. It is the same doctrine which seeks to separate nations and races on the ground that there is no universal truth or universal culture or universal religion. That culture will be most true and valuable which succeeds because of its biological strength in either assimilating or destroying the other cultures. It thus appears that race prejudice and national hatreds are closely akin to sectarian prejudice and denominational hatreds. In place of German Kultur we have advocated Adventist, Catholic, Disciples, Methodist, Presbyterian, or Two-Seed in the Spirit Predestinarian Baptist Kulturs.

¹⁷ Thomas Campbell.

Christian societies regarding each other with the jealousy of rival empires, each trying to raise itself on the ruin of all the others, making extravagant boasts of superior purity, generally in exact proportion to their departures from it, and scarcely deigning to acknowledge the possibility of obtaining salvation out of their pale,—is the odious and disgusting spectacle which modern Christianity presents.¹⁸

All this is based upon the assumed difference in temperaments which it is said prevents men from having essentially the same religious experience. If this experience is essentially different then we must reject monotheism; but if it is essentially the same, and men do approach, with various degrees of feeling, the same God, then there must be some common elements in the emotions of men which enable them to interpret the experience as the same and also enable them to co-operate in the moral activities which must result from such an experience. It is true that as a result of heredity and environment, men come to have different temperaments. The moral task is to remold the disposition into a balanced life which will be moved by the love of God to do His will. Christian education may be conceived as the endeavor to mold dispositions after the Christly pattern. As conceived by the sectarian plans for religious education which insist on the denominational temperament, the endeavor is to mold dispositions after some sectarian pattern. Very often this sectarian pattern has been set by some revered saint of a past age whose temperament was so close to

¹⁸ Quoted by Peter Ainslie from *The Works of Robert Hall*.

the psychopathic that he was regarded as a freak by his contemporaries. The leaders of the past are rightly revered, but the attempt to mold temperaments after human likeness is something other than Christian education, whose aim is to bring to every temperament, no matter how warped to begin with, the balanced, whole-minded fullness of life which was in Christ Jesus.

The churches have not only divided the Body of Christ, they have divided the soul of man. If one sets out in this modern world to find a church which shall provide real spiritual fellowship, one soon discovers that in every church that exists we can have freedom *or* authority; mysticism *or* rationalism; the supernatural *or* the natural; liturgical *or* free prayer; trained and prepared preaching *or* untrained and unprepared preaching; a worship dominated by awe *or* directed like a public meeting—whereas a human being wants all these things at one time or another. But no, I must take my choice; if I have the one I cannot have the other; I must join a denomination which feeds only half my nature and denies that the other exists, find my fellowship with people who have only one eye, make the rest of my spiritual pilgrimage on one leg.

Our modern churches are becoming the most irritating institutions on earth, and they are doing nothing but breeding coteries of most undesirable people, all of them narrow, especially those who boast of their broad-mindedness; trained in partiality, *drilled to defend a parochial area of religion*, with a fixed and fanatical adherence to one element of Christianity, and a bundle of prejudices concerning all the others. Surely the madness of it all is now visible and the hunger of man's

religious nature has grown too fierce to be contented with the unwholesome dietaries the rival churches provide.¹⁹

If I am at hand when the day of a united church comes I hope that church will be of such a nature that I can be a Quaker in some moods, sitting silent to await the stirrings of the Spirit, and a ritualist in other moods, entering into a subtle communion with the souls of the past through the use of words dear to that past, and a crusader rejoicing in Christian conquest in other moods still, listening to stories of gains in great cities or in far away mission fields.²⁰

The argument that denominations are necessary in order that different temperaments and types of folks may each find their own kind of place to worship is little less than an insult to one's power of observation. For all one needs to do is to look about him to find every type and every temperament under heaven in practically every denomination he knows. There is just as great a variety of folks in one denomination as in another—and far more difference between the theological views of members of the same denomination than there is between that of the kindred groups in the various denominations.

Neither by the type or temperament of folks, the kind of audience or sermon, could any stranger decide the denomination *in the vast majority of local churches to-day*. And it is humiliating self-deception or shameful hypocrisy for any one to pretend that our various denominations are each ministering to a distinct type or temperament of human nature. God did not make embryo Methodists and Presbyterians and Christians, et cetera. Babies are born as susceptible of being trained for any one denomination as for any other—as every preacher preaches when he is in his sanest moments and pleading for Sunday-school work instead of defending denominationalism.

¹⁹ Orchard, W. E., *The Outlook for Religion*, p. 265.

²⁰ McConnell, *Living Together*, p. 61.

There is not a thing in all of Christ's teaching that indicates that denominational division is necessary either to present his Gospel or to satisfy human nature—and it is high time that an end be put forever to these age-worn delusions. Apologists for denominationalism must be made plainly to understand that these fallacies with which they have justified division in the church can no longer have any place in honest and careful thinking.²¹

It was a Unitarian who wrote, *In the Cross of Christ I Glory*; a Roman Catholic who wrote, *Lead Kindly Light*; a Congregationalist who wrote, *Jesus, Thou Joy of Loving Hearts*; and a Methodist who wrote, *Love Divine, All Love Excelling*. If we can sing each other's hymns after the authors are dead, we certainly ought to be able to worship together while the authors are still alive.²²

d *Union as a Political Problem*. Neither differences in ideas nor differences in emotions can separate the followers of Christ, unless they be such as to lead away from Christ's ethical teachings. Here again it appears that church union is a matter of coöperation in the preservation and increase of moral values. But coöperation demands organization, and organization is a political matter. All political systems have ethical needs as their origin and purpose. The state exists to conserve moral life; the Church exists to increase moral values by spiritualizing the life of the people. The common realization of similar ethical standards demands a unified organization. This organization must be flexible enough to allow for the variety of

²¹ Editorial, *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, November 17, 1923.

²² J. G. Gilkey.

opinions of speculative pioneers, for the varieties of mystical experience, and for those whose preferential insight, whose spiritual desires, demand a higher and more advanced ethical standard.

The doctrines on which the conferences on doctrinal reconciliation find it most difficult to come to an agreement are those which are most intimately related to the polity and administration of the Church. Many of these doctrines, indeed, were born of political necessity. "Take the Roman Catholic claim to ecclesiastical primacy and papal infallibility. This doctrine has advanced through its successive developments through the pressure of life necessities in the Roman Church. The historic fact was no doubt that the position of Rome in the early Christian centuries made inevitable certain practical problems and pointed the way to their solution. The church at Rome took the primacy and found reasons afterward. Peter was an afterthought."²³

The importance which doctrinal controversies and conferences are given arises oftentimes out of the assumed authority of the Church to dictate beliefs. Autocratic theories of church government magnify the importance of doctrinal fidelity. Democratic theories of church government magnify the importance of toleration, catholicity, spiritual sympathy, based on the right of private judgment and individual approach to God.

The results of these conferences show that the essential difficulty is not doctrinal but political. "The

²³ McConnell, *Religious Certainty*, p. 103.

outstanding and definite proposals for unity in these times may be summed up under those proposals that have been presented through the years by the Roman Catholics, the Protestant Episcopalians, and the Disciples of Christ. The first centers in papal supremacy, the second in the episcopate, and the third in a democracy recognizing the universal suffrage and priesthood of all believers,—with Christ as the overruling Head in all three proposals. . . . Present day events are showing us that the trend of affairs is away from ecclesiastical autocracy and is toward Christian democracy. All autocratic ecclesiasticisms will change or decay.”²⁴

The practical futility of approaching church unity as other than an ethical and hence a political problem is evident from certain counter-proposals. Intellectual levels among the people have been urged as a reason for different sects. Basing their observations upon the results of the Binet-Simon intelligence tests, it is pointed out that certain sects minister to different levels of intelligence, and that this condition must always prevail so long as man is born of woman. Thus do the biologist and the sectarian agree in practice though differing in theory; and who shall say whether zealous sectarians are more or less moral than disinterested biologists? The practical outcome of the advocacy of temperamental differences, as a necessary cause of sectarianism, is equally fallacious and ludicrous. The same people who form the Church make up the state. What is there in the nature of religion

²⁴ Peter Ainslie, *If Not a United Church—What?* pp. 62, 67.

which makes it necessary to have seventeen to seventy different church governments where one city government is sufficient for the same number of people, with their same temperaments and intellectual levels? Is our religious life so divorced from our social, civic, and patriotic interests that whereas we can all live under one secular government we must divide our religious loyalties among hundreds of competitive ecclesiastical associations? National political issues often involve the taking of moral and even religious attitudes; individual differences of temperament and opinion are involved in secular affairs, as much as they are in ecclesiastical relations.

If the theories which justify ecclesiastical separatism and sectarian secessionism are right, then the whole policy which holds the different political parties of our country together under one government is wrong. We would not think of establishing as many school systems in a community as there were political parties, or fanatics, capitalists or socialists, who desired to teach their particular doctrines, even though in our day economic doctrinal differences set men into as bitter conflict as religious differences formerly did. Our public school system in a community must take care of all doctrines, all intellectual levels, all temperamental differences, by adapting its administration to the variety of its problems. This is deemed the most economical and efficient way to govern and educate men in their secular affairs. Since we trace to religion the inspiration of all social advance, there seems no reason to believe that a political system can-

not be found for the governance of religious affairs which will allow as much individual freedom as is necessary for the fullest Christian self-realization, and at the same time be as authoritative as is necessary for unified coöperation of all varieties of individual citizens in the Commonwealth of God.

Efforts at practical coöperation have produced more permanent and beneficial results than many conferences on doctrinal reconciliation. In a progressive civilization there must always be doctrinal and ethical differences, but these may best be adjudicated if they all exist under a common political system which is flexible enough to adjust itself to the demands of progress. For all these reasons, the contention is that the solution of the problem of organization for church union will not be doctrinal in nature but ethical and political. In spite of their various rational categories of explanation, and their manifold ideational labels, the churches are largely one in spiritual experience and moral purpose. A common ethical purpose must find its expression through a common political mechanism. The churches must find some large political plan through which their united spiritual energies may be concentrated on their common task. Social amelioration depends upon the political reorganization of the Church. But just as the former is a matter of social science, so the latter is primarily a matter of political science. Sound political science, to be sure, will be based upon fundamental Christian principles, but the ethical application of essentials ought not to be forced to wait upon complete doctrinal agreement in non-

essentials. This conception of doctrine and deed in progress toward Christian Union is substantially the same as that expressed in Lowell's tribute to the patriots who fought for our national Union:

"Many loved Truth and lavished life's best oil
 Amid the dust of books to find her,
 Content at last for guerdon of their toil
 With the cast mantle she hath left behind her.
 Many in sad faith sought for her,
 Many with crossed hands sighed for her;
 But these, our brothers, fought for her,
 At life's dear peril wrought for her,
 So loved her that they died for her,
 Tasting the raptured fleetness
 Of her divine completeness:
 Their higher instinct knew
 Those love her best who to themselves are true,
 And what they dare to dream of, dare to do;
 They followed her and found her
 Where all may hope to find,
 Not in the ashes of the burnt-out mind,
 But beautiful with danger's sweetness round her.
 Where faith made whole with deed
 Breathes its awakening breath
 Into the lifeless creed,
 They saw her plumed and mailed,
 With sweet, stern face unveiled,
 And all-repaying eyes, look proud on them in death."

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1 What is an idea? What is the difference between knowing a thing and reasoning about it? Are the causes of emo-

tions chiefly physical or mental? Explain how ideas function in the control of behavior.

2 Explain the relation of idea and feeling in religion.

Since religion is largely feeling are doctrines to be distrusted? Is there any relation between one's creed and one's conduct?

3 Viscount Bryce, in *The American Commonwealth*, says, "It is unnatural for a railway company to inquire how many of its shareholders are Wesleyans or total abstinents." A somewhat similar statement is made by Walter Lippmann in his *Public Opinion*: "There was a time when the affairs of all corporations were held to be as private as a man's theology is to-day. There was a time before that when his theology was held as public a matter as the color of his eyes. Privacy is insisted upon in all kinds of places in the area of what is called public affairs." Do the stockholders in a railway company have any share in determining the company's policy toward the consumer and toward labor? Do you think that the attitude of the stockholders is ever influenced by their religious convictions? Does a corporation ever need to inquire into the doctrinal views of its stockholders? Would you judge that religious ideas have any practical effect in the conduct of business? In politics? Do you view theology as primarily a private matter between yourself and God, or has it any social or political implications?

4 Have doctrines about the nature of the state any logical relation to political administration? Describe the practical effects of the *idealistic* and the *realistic* theories of government upon morality and upon the organization of the state.

5 To what extent is the organization of the Christian Church dependent upon the distinct doctrines of Christianity? What minimal essentials would you select as the doctrinal basis of Christian union?

6 Is the Christian Church merely a social institution? Is

a community church necessarily a Christian church? Should a Christian church be a community church?

7 In view of the fact that no two persons can report exactly the same experience in exactly the same words, do you think Christian union should be based on similarity of creed or similarity of experience? By what tests is it possible to determine whether two people have had the same experience, or whether different doctrinal statements represent a similar Christian experience?

8 Dr. Fairbairn says that "Christ is the only institution for Christian worship." Why is the divine personality of Christ also the one fundamental criterion for the organization of the Christian Church?

9 What moral and religious tests must be met by church organizations? Explain the relations existing between religious and political principles in statecraft.

10 In your judgment are religious or political doctrines more essential in the organization of the Christian Church? Is there any good reason why political science rather than doctrinal reconciliation should be the chief concern of the Protestant churches at the present time?

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CHAPTER VIII

INTERCHURCH ADMINISTRATIVE BUREAUS

I THE COMMON TASK

That the demands of life outgrow the bounds of doctrinal definitions is nowhere more evident than in the number of coöperative organizations which have been formed by the churches to meet the life-needs of a new age. In a powerful passage Bishop McConnell says that any serious cherishing of traditional and divisive peculiarities must be abandoned in the face of the great tasks which only a united Church can accomplish. He outlines "three great campaigns which call for the united effort of all the churches, none of them requiring any surrender by the churches of any denominational loyalty: the conflict with the forces of physical might, conflict with the forces arising from control of the material goods of this world, the conflict with a public opinion at times the expression of animal and mob instincts. These three constitute a veritable triune anti-Christ whose overthrow will require all the power of the church." He goes on to emphasize the necessity of coöperative effort in religious education, evangelism, and missions.¹ In the effort to meet the great evils pointed out above the

¹ *Living Together*, p. 81.

churches have organized coöperative commissions, bureaus, or associations more or less permanent and powerful. In fact the bishop's outline of the problems to be met makes a good classification of the organizations which have been formed to meet the need; namely, those dealing with war, with social injustice, with the dissemination of general religious information to influence public opinion; and further with the more specific tasks of the Church, missions, evangelism, and religious education. Among these different bodies there is an overlapping and duplication of function, and many undertake a number of activities, so that an accurate grouping is impossible. The grouping attempted here follows closely that given in the Federal Council's *Year Book of the Churches*.

2 INTERDENOMINATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE BUREAUS

Bible and Religious Literature:

American Bible Society.
American Tract Society.
Bible Class Alliance.
Chicago Tract Society.
Family Altar League.
Pocket Testament League.

Education:

Commission on Christian Education (Federal Council).
Council of Church Boards of Education.
International Daily Vacation Bible School Association.
General Education Board.

Religious Education Association.

Southern Education Society.

Federation and Union:

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Association for Promotion of Christian Unity.

Christian Unity Foundation.

Commission on Interchurch Federations, State and Local
(Federal Council).

National Council, Evangelical Free Churches.

World Conference on Faith and Order.

World Evangelical Alliance (British Organization).

Missionary:

Foreign Missions Conference of North America.

Africa Inland Mission, American Council.

Committee on African Affairs.

American and Foreign Christian Union (also Home Mis-
sionary).

Central Bureau for Relief of Evangelical Churches of Eu-
rope.

Central American Mission.

China Inland Mission.

Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Confer-
ence.

Committee on Coöperation in Latin America.

Federation of Woman's Boards of Foreign Missions.

Mission to Lepers.

Missionary Education Movement (also Home Missionary).

Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions.

Woman's Union Missionary Society of America.

Yale Foreign Missionary Society.

Home Missions Council.

Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students.

Council of Women for Home Missions.

Christian Service in Europe:

American McAll Association.

Committee for Christian Relief in France and Belgium
(Federal Council).

Committee on Religious Conditions in Russia.

Waldensian Aid Society, American.

Sabbath Day:

Lord's Day Alliance of the United States.

New York Sabbath Committee.

Woman's National Sabbath Alliance.

Social:

American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity.
Boys' Club Federation.

Carnegie Corporation.

Commission on the Church and Social Service (Federal
Council).

National Association for the Advancement of Colored
People.

National Florence Crittenton Mission.

Neighbors' League of America.

Playground and Recreation Association of America.

Russell Sage Foundation.

Southern Conference for Education and Industry.

Southern Sociological Congress.

Travelers' Aid Society.

Church School: (See also *Education* above).

International Council of Religious Education.

International Lesson Committee.

American Sunday School Union.

World's Sunday School Association.

Temperance and Prohibition:

Anti-Saloon League.

Committee of Sixty on National Prohibition.

Flying Squadron Foundation.

Intercollegiate Prohibition Association.

International Order of Good Templars.

National Temperance Society and Commission on Temperance.

Prohibition National Committee.

Scientific Temperance Federation.

Sons of Temperance.

Strengthen America Campaign (Federal Council).

United Committee for War Temperance Activities in the Army and Navy.

Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

War and Peace:

American Red Cross.

Church Peace Union.

Commission on the Church and Country Life (Federal Council).

Commission on International Justice and Good Will (Federal Council).

General Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains (Federal Council).

General War-Time Commission of the Churches (Federal Council).

League for National Unity.

National Committee on the Churches and the Moral Aims of the War.

Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook (Federal Council).

Joint Committee on War Production Communities.

World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship.

General:

American Seamen's Friend Society.

Church Advertising Department.

Commission on Relations with the Orient (Federal Council).
 Indian Rights Association.
 Interdenominational Association of Evangelists.
 International New Thought Alliance.
 International Prayer Battalion.
 International Reform Bureau.
 United Society of Christian Endeavor.
 National Christian League for the Promotion of Purity.
 National Indian Association.
 National Reform Association.

3 POWERS AND DUTIES OF INTERCHURCH BUREAUS

Interchurch administrative organizations have not until recently received the attention which they deserve. There are several reasons for this. The institution is comparatively new; it is rarely spectacular in its operations; and it is hidden among the petty events of daily life, only rarely emerging into the conspicuous glare of ecclesiastical politics. Speaking broadly, the bureau does not concern itself with doctrinal issues, or denominational polity, and its work is done unostentatiously and silently in the field of routine business. A careful distinction should be made between the officially constituted coöperative agencies and private associations to which the churches give moral support, allowing appeals to be made to their people and giving the use of buildings and the time of leaders to their programs. A few such private voluntary associations are mentioned in the list above to show the overlapping of agencies. Such

bodies tend to strengthen the spirit of religious cosmopolitanism, to which reference was made in Chapter IV.

The attempt to classify these bureaus according to the kinds of duties they perform is like gathering a hundred pebbles at random from the beach, classifying them, and drawing general conclusions regarding pebbles as such. The reason for this degree of variation is that the bureaus have come into being spontaneously, independently, and according to no concerted plan, and have developed in the same free and independent fashion. These agencies might be examined from several points of view, such as their historical development, the subjects with which they deal, their forms of organization, the functions performed by them or the jurisdiction enjoyed in the performance of these functions. The bureaus have in the past been created to meet certain needs and have been given duties according to the need in each case, and a form calculated to support the functions assigned to the organization. The needs which led to the creation of these bodies have been referred to. It remains to examine their functions, forms, and powers of jurisdiction.

a *Form*. The essential element in all these organizations is a standing bureau or commission. The bureau is the administrative body proper and derives its authority from a written "convention" or constitution. This constitution, supplemented by special regulations and by-laws, controls the activity of the bureau

in all subsequent practice, although the regulations are sometimes drawn up and amended by the bureau itself.

The constitution is drawn up ordinarily by means of an interdenominational conference or congress. This conference may reassemble from time to time to revise the constitution, and it may select a body of delegates to meet during the intervals between the sessions of the conference for the purpose of supervising the work of the bureau. Where such a body exists it is called a commission and the final administrative body a bureau. Neither the conference, convention, nor commission is *administrative in character*. The bureau is the administrative organ; the congress or conference or commission is legislative in its functions. This setting serves to define in a general way the constituent form of many organizations, though there is a wide variation as to terminology and relationships.

b *Functions:* (1) *Distributing Information.* Informational bureaus have a threefold task; that of collecting data, editing and printing reports in suitable form, and distributing them to the churches. In view of the fact that harmonious coöperation is often dependent upon an accurate presentation of the actual facts, and that it is often impossible for individuals or separate denominations to gather the facts independently, the work of such bureaus is not so unimportant as might appear on the surface. With the increased use of statistics and statistical methods the number of these bureaus has multiplied rapidly in recent years.

This duty formed a large part of the work of the Interchurch World Movement, and is now the chief task of the Institute of Social and Religious Research.

(2) *Conducting Conferences.* In this capacity the bureau serves as a clearing-house for the exchange of opinions and views regarding matters of common or concurrent interest. Such a bureau calls interchurch conferences or conventions, and it prepares programs and materials for discussion, to deal with the subject-matter or cause which is its special interest. The ultimate object is common action by all the churches, but action apart from any formal or binding agreement.

(3) *Submitting Recommendations.* A further stage is reached when the bureau begins to concern itself with the subject-matter under discussion. The members of the bureau examine the data available and the views put forward by the different churches and decide upon the action which should be recommended. When this has been done the work of the bureau is finished. The results of its deliberations are referred to the churches for consideration and action as recommendations, but only as recommendations. Action still depends upon the voluntary coöperation of the denominational bodies themselves. Very often this coöperation is not forthcoming. The work of the bureau seems useless and ineffective. But when we remember the unwillingness of the denominations to submit to any super-government, we must recognize that such bureaus perform the highest service possible at

the present time, that of inducing voluntary coöperation.

(4) *Fiscal Duties.* Most interchurch bureaus are intrusted with the responsibility of raising the funds to sustain their own work. In a few cases, the bureau is allowed to appeal directly to the members of the churches; more often it is required to confine its efforts to the collection of the official pledges of the constituent denominations, and it sometimes finds this an insuperable task. Certain of the bureaus are supported in part by private funds, but for the most part the expenses are paid by the member churches, either in equal contributions, or by contributions proportional in amount to the numerical strength or financial resources of the members. The collection of the funds rests with the bureau itself; and usually the expenditure also, except in special cases of coöperative money-raising or endowment campaigns, such as the Interchurch World Movement, when the major portions of the funds are turned over to the denominations for expenditure.

c *Jurisdiction.* At present the powers of all such bureaus as have been mentioned are purely advisory. No interchurch body has any degree of authoritative jurisdiction. Interdenominational organization at present rests upon what may be called the level of immediate consent. The churches have been unwilling to bind themselves, indirectly and in advance, to obey the rulings of any super-administrative body. A rehearing is demanded at each stage of the process; decision is kept open as long as possible, and is taken

in the last resort only by each denomination acting for itself, not through a body of delegated representatives. As has been pointed out, interchurch bureaus get whatever power they have directly from the denominations, and only in an extremely far-removed and indirect way from the *people*. And seldom are they allowed to approach the people who make up the membership of the churches, in any vigorous or authoritative way. These bureaus operate on church life only intermittently, spasmodically, retrospectively, indirectly through the denominational units.

As to whether interdenominational bureaus shall be granted enlarged jurisdiction or their powers be constantly delimited, there are divergent attitudes among church people. While popular opinion is growing in favor of union, denominational leaders have been continually opposed to closer fellowship. There is evidence of these two groupings even in the origins of the movement. Persons in each church who are interested in the sort of work undertaken by these bureaus and commissions have been more eager for such a development than the church officials themselves. In spite of attempts to prove the contrary it appears that the denominations themselves are less active in the formation and promotion of such bodies than are private or voluntary associations. Most of the interchurch administrative bureaus originated as voluntary associations and were, more or less willingly, taken over by the churches later.² There is a regular series

² The early history of Sunday-school and missionary movements affords excellent illustrations of this point.

of steps in the process of conversion whereby private associations become recognized by the church. A private association or bureau is first given approval, and then coöperation; and finally, through the pressure of public opinion, it secures the recognition of the denominations as an official administrative bureau.

These two points of view are further reflected in the divergent attitudes taken by technical experts connected with these bureaus and the officially constituted denominational representatives. The former, laymen in diplomacy, have their attention centered in their work on its technical side—surveys, statistical work, methods of evangelism and religious education, research and publication, administrative technique. The denominational diplomats are constantly fussing about church sovereignty, denominational independence, and sectarian interests.³ The former have in mind the positive achievement of results in the field of action of the proposed bureau; the latter, the negative aim of protecting and defending denominational interests. So far as sectarian sovereignty and independence are real considerations in this day and generation and in the special fields where these bureaus operate, the denominational diplomats can only be praised for guarding the holiest of holies and the experts only regarded as dangerously indifferent to the greater things

³ Such sectarian ambition is well characterized by Dr. J. T. Adams in his history of early New England, when he says that the ambition of the average Puritan young man in those first fifty years of New England settlements was something like that of the doughboy of the late war, to "make the world safe for"—the Congregational Church!

of life. So far as this assumption is unsound, however, the reverse is true. It is unquestionably true that interchurch unions have arisen to supply the moral, social, and religious needs of men, and not to be subservient to the political ambitions of the denominations.

4 THE INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT

a *Origin.* Like other interchurch administrative bureaus the Interchurch World Movement was at first a voluntary association. There were various groups within all the churches interested in the existence of such an organization. First, there were the progressive of all denominations who sought to transcend reactionary sectarian methods, and through some independent organization, bring the pressure of progress to bear at denominational headquarters. Second, there were groups of workers in previous interchurch administrative bureaus who were troubled by existing duplications and restrictions, and desired to harmonize and extend their activities. These groups desired that "the whole Church should see its whole task and attempt, in a worthy and coördinated effort, the accomplishment of it with enthusiasm, energy and consecration." Lastly might be mentioned a small number of denominational leaders responsible for the success of sectarian financial campaigns. The promotion campaigns launched by a number of denominations had resulted in a certain degree of friction. It was evident

that for the sects to appeal for money as denominations would reveal the unseemly competition in religion which actually exists. Separate simultaneous campaigns for money would force each sect to exhibit doctrinal, ethical, or religious grounds for its superiority to all other denominations. Many leaders felt that a united campaign for *The Church* as an institution with the emphasis on *Christian Union*, would be economically more effective, and at the same time could be engineered so as not to endanger existing sectarianism. This Machiavellian attitude was justified either as the result of "necessity" or as the work of the "Holy Spirit."

As a result of all these forces the proposed conference of the foreign missionary agencies was enlarged to include other coöperative enterprises. Over one hundred representatives of interchurch missionary, educational, and philanthropic agencies met in this Conference, the result of which was the first *Committee of One Hundred of the Interchurch World Movement*. This *General Committee* was at first responsible to the seven interchurch administrative bureaus under whose auspices the Conference met, namely:—

The Foreign Missions Conference

The Home Missions Council

The Council of Women for Home Missions

The Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions

The Sunday School Council of Evangelical Denominations

The Council of Church Boards of Education

The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

b *Delimitation of Powers and Functions.* The Interchurch Movement began with the hope of becoming an independent authoritative body. But its jurisdiction and duties were soon strictly delimited. It originated as a voluntary organization but it soon became "*an agency of the denominations as such.*" The control of the General Committee passed from the progressive and interchurch groups to the denominational group. The General Committee became "a representative body composed of members approved by the several denominations coöperating in the Movement, with the addition of not to exceed one-third of the Committee, elected by those who are elected by these denominational bodies." Changes in the purpose of the organization were at once demanded. The Interchurch World Movement was now to give itself "primarily and unreservedly to the task of creating an atmosphere within which denominational plans might reach their denominational objectives." Participating agencies in approving reports passed explanatory resolutions to make it clear that no action of the Committee should be regarded as binding unless separately ratified.

This limitation of jurisdiction is explicitly affirmed in Interchurch Reports: "In requesting an authorization from the several denominational bodies for the continuance of its work, the Movement recognizes and reaffirms its own limited scope and limitation of powers. It adopts the language of the World Survey Conference, afterward reiterated by the General Committee:

"It is further recognized that the Interchurch World Movement is not organized for the purpose of administering missionary or educational enterprises, or for determining the policies of the several denominations, but leaves all such matters in the hands of the churches and the denominational or interdenominational agencies recognized by them. In its surveys it confines its service to ascertaining and portraying the facts, to calling the attention of the churches and their agencies to the needs revealed by these facts, and to encouraging the churches, through coöperative effort, to work out the problems involved.

"The authority of the Movement rests solely in the challenge of the facts it is able to present.

"It is therefore recommended that the determination and the initiation of policies for meeting the situations revealed shall be understood to be wholly with the churches and their own regularly constituted agencies."

It would be difficult to find a better example of the interchurch administrative bureau as described in this chapter than the Interchurch World Movement.

Besides denominational control of the General Committee, denominational committees were appointed to supervise the departmental work of the Interchurch Movement. The request was made that "advisory committees be appointed to be associated with the Survey Department in the carrying forward of the survey, and that whenever possible the actual surveys be made by or in coöperation with" present interdenominational administrative bureaus. This denominational supervision of the survey was undertaken to ensure that only such facts should be gathered as would be immediately useful in raising money, and that no

facts should be revealed which would reflect on the past policies of the denominations.

Denominational supervision was also extended to the financial arrangements of the organization. The treasurers of the various coöperating agencies became associate treasurers of the Interchurch Movement and coöperated in determining the financial plans of the Movement. The items on the general budget were to be "retained, modified, or eliminated according to the following test, namely, that it is a budget item of a regular, national, denominational organization and that it has been approved by such organization." Special care was taken that no money should be appropriated to any independent agency for any purpose. Participation of independent or union agencies in the Interchurch Movement was limited "to such amounts as the denominational agencies may be willing to add to their respective budgets." "Items for unoccupied fields or unallotted special types of work both at home and abroad may be included in the budget if taken up and included by denominations in their denominational budgets." "The budget of any philanthropic organization shall be included in the budget of the Interchurch World Movement only by first being included in the budget of a national denominational body." No money could be raised or appropriated for hospitals or homes unless they bore a denominational label!

The implications of these restrictions are evident. A contemporary editorial comment concisely describes the situation:

"The fact cannot be evaded that the appeal of the Interchurch Movement has lost much of its grip and force through its compromise with the sectarian spirit. One communion declined to participate unless the Y. M. C. A. were left out. Another qualified its participation by the demand that the leaders of the Movement be not chosen by the various missionary boards, but by the denominational judicatories. Another demanded that all implications favorable to the merging or even federating of local churches be removed. And several refused to have anything to do with it until the idea of a common treasury was abandoned and provision made for each denomination to simply fill its own treasury with its own funds. All these qualifications had to be taken into account by the creative organizers of the Movement. Rather than let the Movement come to nought through these assertions of sectarian suspicion and self-interest, these qualifications were accepted one after the other, thus radically transforming the character of the project from the original and far more idealistic conception. It was decided that it would be better to have practically complete interdenominational coöperation on a minimum than to fail to enlist certain great denominations by insistence upon a more idealistic maximum. Large areas of Christian imagination and conviction have been sacrificed by the adjustment process through which the Interchurch idea has passed. There is widespread disappointment among the more catholic spirits of the churches, who think of the Movement as having been captured by the ecclesiastics and re-formed by them into an ingenious device to still further entrench the denominational order of things." ⁴

c Discontinuance of the Movement. The plans of the Interchurch financial campaign called for the

⁴ *The Christian Century*, Feb. 19, 1920.

division of the prospective contributors into two classes: Class A, church members whose contributions "should go automatically to the denomination of which the contributor is an enrolled member." Class B, "friendly citizens" interested in promoting the cause of Christian Union through the Interchurch. Expectations that this second group would provide an independent fund for the continuance of the Movement were doomed to disappointment. A report approved by the General Committee states that "this was due to the fact, which has been proven, that many of those who would otherwise have fallen into Class B were solicited by the denominations." This fact is confirmed by the report of the Business Men's Committee: "A problem that has occasioned very considerable difficulty is the Local Treasurer, of whom there are upwards of 6,000 throughout the country. Many of these men have been subjected to pressure from denominational angles, and very considerable sums of money that in the ordinary course ought to have been forwarded to Interchurch Headquarters were 'laid hold of privily' by denominational treasurers." Furthermore, all undesignated contributions, instead of being allotted to an independent interchurch fund, were systematically pro-rated to denominational treasuries.

The failure of this method to provide a common fund sufficient to cover liabilities made it necessary for the denominations to pay their underwritings of over \$6,500,000. The movement had raised for the participating boards approximately \$176,000,000, "the

largest sum ever collected for religious work in a single endeavor." In round numbers the ratio of the underwritings paid to the amount collected is 3.7 per cent. According to the original plan, the denominations had agreed to furnish guarantees for five per cent of the amount for which each was appealing. There seems to be no adequate reason why a small continuation fund could not have been set aside out of the net profits, if the "soul's sincere desire" for Christian Union had prevailed. On the contrary it was arranged that any profits from the continuation campaign should be used for "the reimbursement of the underwriters in due order."

It was the Business Men's Committee which finally guided the Movement through its financial difficulties.

"It should be mentioned here that in order to meet a critical banking emergency at an important juncture in the life of the Movement, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., signed an underwriting for a million dollars. It was not, however, found necessary to use this underwriting at the time, and failure to use it when, and as, it was intended it should be used entirely relieved Mr. Rockefeller from any legal obligation to pay it. Nevertheless, in order to meet the critical situation with which the Business Men's Committee found itself confronted, Mr. Rockefeller promptly paid the underwriting in full."⁵

Whatever influences are to be attributed to the Interchurch Report of the Steel Strike, the real cause

⁵ Final Report of the Business Men's Committee, Nov. 20, 1923.

of the discontinuance of the Interchurch World Movement was not capitalism, but sectarianism.

The Movement had begun with the sentiment of the progressives that "there is no other agency of the churches capable of undertaking the task forced upon us by the present world situation." It ended with the resolution of the Reorganization Committee: "That it is the sense of this conference that the churches possess in the existing agencies sufficient organizations for the needs of their coöperative work at the present time." The result of this Committee's work was to reinstate as nearly as possible the conditions of the past. The Committee recommended that the existing coöperative agencies be developed and coördinated; that affiliations with the Federal Council heretofore established be continued; that a Committee of Consultation be appointed to consider relationships among interdenominational agencies; that the Interchurch Movement adjust and conclude its activities, and transfer its survey materials to the appropriate interchurch agencies, namely:—

The Foreign Missions Conference

The Home Missions Council

The Council of Women for Home Missions

The Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions

The Sunday School Council of Evangelical Denominations

The Council of Church Boards of Education

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

As the Red Queen said to Alice, in Wonderland,
"Now, *here*, you see it takes all the running *you* can do

to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else you must run at least twice as fast as that!"

d *Conservation of Results*. But the Movement was not without some beneficent results. The conservation of some of its permanent values was made possible by Mr. Rockefeller's endowment of the Institute of Social and Religious Research. Facts were revealed by the Interchurch surveys which are a standing challenge to the churches. Impetus was given toward the adoption of a more scientific method of procedure in solving the problems of local churches, communities, and denominations. Instruments for evaluating religious processes and results were developed which will come into general use as soon as the denominational labels can be applied. Employment by the Interchurch of so many experts in various lines of religious work, regardless of their denominational affiliations, greatly stimulated the growth of the professional, as distinguished from the sectarian spirit. Like the majestic figure of *The Sower*, the Movement scattered the seed of an interchurch sentiment which is destined to grow white unto the harvest.

"Thus a great enterprise has passed into history. It is not to be regarded as a failure in any damaging sense. Great mistakes were made in its projection and its promotion. It attempted too many features and it miscalculated the time required for so huge a task. But it set high standards of co-operative work, and in spite of all reaction, the churches will never go back to some phases of sectarianism which were in vogue before it took form. As time passes the irritations caused by its failure to reach some of its objectives will disappear,

and it will be seen in retrospect as a very noble adventure of faith, whose final effect on the American Church cannot fail to be of value.”⁶

5 THE FUTURE: GREATER JURISDICTION NECESSARY

The churches will delegate authority to administrative bureaus only when convinced of the necessity of doing so. That they have not done so in the past is due to the absence of this conviction, which in turn is due to the weakness of the case made out by the advocates of interchurch organization, who have talked much of the beauties of doctrinal peace, but little of the substantial economies and political advantages of interdenominational government. The cause of the deficiencies of the Interchurch World Movement, the Federal Council of Churches, and other interchurch administrative bodies is largely the weakness of support given by those denominational leaders in the best position to support them. The chief weakness of federation movements lies in the fact that delegates to city, state, and national meetings of these organizations are mere “unofficial observers” without powers to act.

Interchurch organizations cannot continue to supply the larger moral, social, and religious needs of men so long as they are hampered by lack of power. They are not given adequate power, the situations in which they are placed are beyond their control, and limita-

⁶ *The Christian Century*, April 28, 1921.

tion to advisory powers is insisted on, because the churches do not see any necessity for acting otherwise. The necessity is present and is latent in the situation, but it is not recognized. If it is not soon recognized, interdenominational relations will grow worse instead of better; conditions will become more chaotic; suspicions now rife will grow in bitterness; demoralization will ensue. The fight against paganism will be lost.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1 Enumerate the tasks of the churches which can best be carried on coöperatively. Are there any which can be most effectively accomplished by the denominations working separately and independently?

2 What is your opinion of Professor Hobhouse's assertion that we have too many merely nominal Christians already, and that future efforts of the Church should be intensive rather than extensive? Would you go so far as to suggest that each denomination, as its distinctive reason for existence, ought to specialize in some one form of Christian service?

3 In the list of interchurch administrative bureaus (pp. 176-180) check those which were initiated by the voluntary activity of laymen or ministers, and not given official denominational recognition until later.

4 Investigate and report on the history of interchurch administrative bureaus in one of the following fields: (a) missions; (b) evangelism; (c) religious education; (d) social service; (e) Christian union; (f) world peace. Were any of these coöperative efforts originally the result of official denominational initiative, or of independent enterprise?

5 Describe the distinctive attitudes of Catholic prelates and Protestant denominational officials toward spontaneous voluntary religious movements or independent religious societies among laymen. Use as illustration the Franciscan and Dominican orders in the Catholic Church, and the Interchurch World Movement and the Laymen's Church League in the Protestant churches.

6 State, in general, the powers and duties of interchurch administrative bureaus.

7 If the denominational officials sincerely desire Christian union, why do they restrict the fiscal powers of interchurch bureaus, and refuse to underwrite the financial obligations of coöperative enterprises? Why would not an independent endowment for these bureaus be a solution of the problem?

8 How far do you believe it is true that the primary purpose of interchurch administrative bureaus is "to make gentlemen's agreements as to the ecclesiastical exploitation of the local churches and communities of the nation"?

9 What is the attitude of sectarian representatives toward interchurch bureaus? How does it differ from the attitude of specialists, for example, in missions, evangelism, education, and social service?

10 Would it in the slightest degree endanger their distinctive denominational messages, if the churches should delegate supreme power in specific matters to an authoritative interchurch federation?

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CHAPTER IX

FEDERATION

I THE JURISTIC THEORY OF SOVEREIGNTY

The evident practical necessity of international organization has led to a renewed analysis of the idea of state sovereignty and the formulation of plans of interstate federation. This question, which was long ago debated in the columns of *The Federalist*, has been renewed by the League of Nations controversy.

Sovereign states were formerly so jealous of their independent sovereignty that each imagined it might still persist if like the Ireland of Bishop Berkeley's imagination it were "surrounded by a wall of brass sixty cubits high." The pressure of circumstances, however, has given rise to various modifications of this doctrine. To speak of a "divided sovereignty" seems illogical, yet it seems to offer a convenient description of coöperative national endeavor. The juristic theory of interstate federation, however, offers a more adequate explanation of this social phenomenon. Just as individuals do not speak of giving up their independence when they sign a contract or form a partnership, neither do states abandon their sovereignty when they ratify a constitution. States exercise their free will in binding themselves to the terms of

a constitution, making provision for changing circumstances by the possibility of amendments. The location of executive power in specific matters may be definitely stated in the constitution. The modern tendency is toward centralization. The more recent constitutions provide either that the central government shall have jurisdiction over all matters not specifically granted to the states (as in Canada) or that central and state governments hold "concurrent jurisdiction" over all matters not specifically reserved to either (as in the German Republic).¹

2 ALLOCATION OF POWERS

There are three general steps in the process of federalization. Nations will at first unite in a concert or alliance binding themselves by treaty or compact to the execution of certain specified purposes. There is no central government of any kind. Illustrations are the Holy Alliance of Prussia, Austria, and Russia (1815), and the Concert of European Powers (1832).

The second step comes when a central bureau of interstate administration is provided. The central body is given certain matters of routine business to transact, but its powers are limited. It may give advice or pass recommendations, but it has no executive authority or financial control. Raising money and enforcing laws are left to the separate states, who may

¹ Rene Brunet, *The New German Constitution*: Chap. 2, Sec. 2; "Toward a Unified State—Division of Power between the *Reich* and the States"; Chap. 3, Sec. 2; "The Democratic Principle—Power Derived from the People."

take the central advisory body more or less seriously as they please. Thus the states are joined in a loose confederation, from which they may withdraw immediately at will. Various duties and different degrees of power are given to the interstate administrative bureau, so that examples may be drawn from a wide scope of activities—Universal Postal Union, International Maritime Union, International Sugar Union, International Office of Public Health, Central American Union, the Pan-American Union, etc., etc. A more common illustration is the colonial Articles of Confederation during 1781-1789, the critical period of American history.

Under this Confederation, said Hamilton, "There is scarcely anything that can wound the pride or degrade the character of an independent nation which we do not experience." And Washington wrote: "We are either a united people or we are not. If the former let us in all matters of general concern act as a nation which has a national character to support; if we are not let us no longer act a farce by pretending to it."

When the central government is given full executive authority the final form of federation has arrived. Two things are characteristic of this form. First, the central government draws its power from the states and exercises it directly upon the states, and, secondly, it draws its power from the people and exercises it directly upon the people. These seemingly paradoxical attributes of the federal form were much debated and clearly described in the columns of *The Federalist*.

Before the Constitution was adopted (January 18, 1788), James Madison said: "The Federal form regards the Union as a *confederacy* of sovereign states: a national government regards the Union as a *consolidation* of the states. A national government must act directly on individuals, not on states in their political capacities alone. It is essential to such a government that its power be derived from the great body of society, not from an inconsiderable proportion or favored class of it. The house of representatives will derive its powers from the people of America. So far the government is national, not federal. The senate will derive its powers from the states as political and coequal societies. So far the government is federal, not national. Whether this form and aspect of government be strictly republican, no other form is reconcilable with the genius of the American people." ²

After the Constitution had been adopted John Marshall defended it in these words:

In ratifying the Constitution of the United States, this mode of proceeding was adopted,—by the Constitutional Convention, by Congress and by the State Legislatures. The instrument was submitted to the people. From this vote of the people the Constitution derives its whole authority. The government proceeds directly from the people: is ordained and established in the name of the people.

No political dreamer was ever wild enough to think of breaking down the lines which separate the States, and of compounding the American people into one common mass. Of

² *The Federalist*, No. 39.

consequence when they act they act in their States. But the measures they adopt do not on that account cease to be the measures of the people themselves, or become measures of the State Governments.

To the formation of a league such as was the *Confederation* the State sovereignties were certainly competent. But when "in order to form a more perfect union," it was deemed necessary to change this *alliance* into an effective government possessing great and sovereign powers, and acting directly on the people, the necessity of referring it to the people, and of deriving its powers directly from them, was felt and acknowledged by all.

The government by the Union then is emphatically and truly a government of the people. In form and substance it emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them and are to be exercised directly on them and for their benefit.³

Woodrow Wilson, in his *History of the American People*, points out the respects in which the new Federal Constitution was superior to the old Confederation: "In brief every salient feature of the existing Confederation was in this new instrument of government condemned and rejected:—the absolute equality of the states, the dependence of the general government upon them for the execution of the laws and for its very support, its lack of an executive and of executive powers, *its futile function of mere advice.*"

To one who considers the present status of church

³ See Scott, J. B., *Judicial Settlement of Controversies between States of the American Union: Cases Decided in the Supreme Court of the United States*, New York, 1918. Notable in this connection are: *McCulloch vs. Maryland*, 1819, 17 U. S. 316; and *Texas vs. White*, 1869, 74 U. S. 724.

organization the pertinence of the foregoing discussion of the forms of federation ought to be abundantly evident.⁴ Interchurch federation does not involve the surrender of denominational sovereignty, any more than the federal union demands the surrender of the sovereignty of the states. The Federal Council of Churches is at present only a "weak Confederation." With proper constitutional provisions there is no danger of loss of denominational sovereignty.

3 THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

a *Origin.* This method of Christian union is not essentially different from the method of practical co-operation through interchurch administrative bureaus. A federation is in reality a coördination of the work of several interdenominational administrative bureaus under one executive committee. The vitality of the federation depends upon the strength of this coördination. In origin, however, a federation may not represent a union of previously existing bureaus, but a union organization may develop new bureaus within itself. The Federal Council of Churches, for example,

⁴To apply the civil analogy further, the Federal Council of Churches might be described very accurately in much the same terms as are here applied to the Colonial Confederation: "To the exterior world the United States presented the semblance of unity. Between the States themselves it was scarcely acknowledged. The unity of the States in any sense was an empty theory. Pride, policy, and patriotism had nerved the American commissioners to insist on the ideal. But they knew and intelligent people in Europe knew that the thing itself did not exist." (*Life and Epoch of Alexander Hamilton*, p. 66.)

originated as the culmination of previous federative movements. A national convention held in 1905 composed of official denominational delegates was called together by the National Federation of Churches and Church Workers. The Constitution adopted by this convention went into effect early in 1908 when the approval of two thirds of the denominations had been secured.

b *Activities.* The activities of this federation are much the same as those undertaken by other interchurch administrative bureaus, with the exception that their united overhead offers greater possibilities of coördination. That there is much duplication of effort by these various agencies may be seen by comparing the list of interchurch organizations mentioned in Chapter VIII with the following forms of service rendered by the Federal Council:

Permanent Commissions:

Commission on Interchurch Federations.

Commissions on Evangelism.

Commission on the Church and Social Service.

Commission on the Church and Country Life.

National Temperance Society and Commission on Temperance.

Commission on Christian Education.

Commission on International Justice and Good Will.

Commission on Relations with the Orient.

Permanent and Special Committees:

Committee on Foreign Missions.

Committee on Home Missions.

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L A W
OF
N A T U R E
A N D
N A T I O N S.

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M D C C X X I X.

PLATE VIII. LAW OF NATURE AND NATIONS

This reproduction was made from a copy of Pufendorf's work found in the private library of John Adams, the second President of the United States. The colonial leader evidently came into contact with this work during his early years as a student of law. The influence of this book appears throughout Adams's life, notably in his plea that the Stamp Act was void because Parliament had no right to tax the colonists without their consent, in his acceptance of the federal principle and leadership of the Federalist party against the Jeffersonian Democrats, and in his three volumes in *Defence of the Constitution of the United States*. (See text, page 297.)

Home Missions Council (coöperating body).

Washington Committee.

General War-Time Commission of the Churches.

General Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains.

Committee on Family Life and Religious Rest Day.

Committee on Negro Churches.

Committees for Special Causes:

Committee for Christian Relief in France and Belgium.

Committee on Christian Work in the Canal Zone.

Committee on Religious Conditions in Russia.

Committee on African Affairs.

The Federal Council offers an opportunity for the coördination of the work of interchurch administrative bureaus. Although these several coöperative organizations have maintained their autonomy, they are coming to realize that they have common problems requiring mutual consideration. This has led the Federal Council to bring into the membership of its own administrative committee the representatives of these several bodies coöperatively engaged in carrying out special phases of the work of the churches. These affiliated, coöperating, or consultative bodies are as follows: Home Missions Council, Council of Women for Home Missions, Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions, Council of Church Boards of Education, International Committee Young Men's Christian Association, National Board Young Women's Christian Association, Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Committee on

Coöperation in Latin America, Student Volunteer Movement, International Council of Religious Education, and American Bible Society.

c *Achievements.* Federation has been justified by its results. The few years since the organization of the Federal Council in 1908 have been packed full of remarkable accomplishments. Thirty denominations have signified their general assent to the principle of federation, and are now coöperating through twenty commissions, which are working upon important inter-church programs. City federations have been organized in more than fifty major municipalities. Organizations in such cities as Chicago, St. Louis, Harrisburg, Paterson, Detroit, Rochester, Milwaukee, Pittsburg, Atlanta, Cleveland, Toledo, Norfolk, Buffalo, Indianapolis, Wichita, Kansas City, Dayton, Duluth, Cincinnati, Boston, Seattle, Sacramento, San Francisco, and New York all testify by their achievements to the value of this work. State Councils of Churches have been formed in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, California, New York, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa, South Dakota, and New Jersey. State and city councils promote coöperation in such matters as evangelism, social welfare work, law enforcement, improvement of race relations, religious publicity, supervision of recreation and amusements, preservation of the Sabbath day, creating public opinion as to world peace and industrial relations, conducting union religious services, and promoting Christian unity.

In connection with the promotion of Christian

Union, not the least of the Federal Council's services has been the calling of numerous conferences on "denominational disarmament."

There is space but for a brief reference to the work of the various commissions of the Federal Council. The Commission on Social Service has been active in organizing conferences between employers, pastors, and employees. Its statements with reference to child labor, and to the coal and railway strikes, have had the power of a united Church behind them. The Commission on Evangelism has organized the Protestant churches for a common expression of religious feeling in a fellowship of prayer during the Lenten season, and has conducted in a number of cities evangelistic campaigns noted for their power and the permanence of their results. In harmony with its function as an interchurch administrative bureau, the Federal Council has undertaken the task of distributing information and of creating public opinion on all matters of common concern to the churches. Each of its commissions has issued several volumes pertaining to its work. A department of publicity has had remarkable success and encouragement from publishers, in presenting the common causes and interests of the churches through the public press. No single denomination could alone obtain such publicity for any cause, however righteous. One result of this united action is seen in the council's efforts toward Christian internationalism. Twelve million five hundred thousand letters urging reduction of armament were received by the Advisory Committee of the Washington Con-

ference, as a direct result of the activity of the Federal Council of Churches. Interest in world peace has not been confined to pious advice. Appeals for Russian and Japanese relief met with greater response because they came from a united Church. Measures have been taken for the relief of the clergy in the war-stricken nations of Germany, Belgium, and France, as well as in Russia. Sympathetic relations have been established with the Greek Church. European Protestant churches, urged by the example and influence of the Federal Council, now have a more united organization than ever before in history. The Council for European Protestantism is international as well as interchurch. The universal world Church, which has made such a powerful appeal under an imperial organization, now promises to come into being under more democratic auspices.

The results of federal church coöperation have proved its value, from the smallest country community to world organization. Such coöperation offers opportunity for the practice of the Christian virtues and religious ideals, which the ministers of the churches have been so sincerely preaching, in the local community as well as in national and international affairs. The final pragmatic justification of church federation may be expressed in the words of President Wilson when he urged a similar coöperation in order that "the brotherhood of mankind may no longer be a fair and empty phrase," but "may be given a structure of force and reality."

d *Jurisdiction.* Interdenominational organization

rests at present on what may be called the level of immediate consent. No interchurch body has any degree of authoritative jurisdiction whatever. They are loose confederations for the attainment of immediate ends. Their function is purely advisory in every case. The power of such agencies is limited in two ways: (1) their financial resources are reduced to the lowest possible point and the means of collecting funds restricted; (2) the churches have been unwilling to bind themselves in advance to follow the recommendations of such coöperative bodies. The Federal Council is no exception to this rule. Its jurisdiction is very limited. The constitutional provision sees to that.

ARTICLE 4. This Federal Council shall have no authority over the constituent bodies adhering to it; but its province shall be limited to the expression of its council and the recommending of a course of action in matters of common interest to the churches, local councils, and individual Christians.

It has no authority to draw up a common creed, or form of government or of worship, or in any way to limit the full autonomy of the Christian bodies adhering to it.

Article Ten of the Constitution provides for financial control by the denominations. Article Ten is sweet and simple, but it is a league-breaker. "The expenses of the Federal Council shall be provided for by the several constituent bodies." After a recital of the many important tasks undertaken by the Council, in a recent bulletin, come the facts about the budget:

The annual meeting of the Executive Committee held at Indianapolis in December, 1922, approved a budget of \$258,000 to carry out the above plans. The Churches contributed

directly about \$72,000 of the 1922 budget, so it will be clearly seen that for the larger amount of this budget the Federal Council will be compelled to look to individuals who *believe* in the coöperation of the churches in their approach to their common tasks.

("The same niggardly policy has prevailed in financing the budget of the International Council of Religious Education. Out of total receipts for the year 1924 amounting to \$210,596.71 the denominations officially contributed only \$23,785.00. If the voting in the Council meetings were by shares, the denominational secretaries would be less than a negligible quantity. Denominations that give less than \$25,000 to support an organization they seek to control for the purpose of killing competition will not expend the hundreds of thousands of dollars necessary to experiment, pioneer, and promote new advances in religious education."—Phillips Broadhurst, *Unity Messenger*, May 1925.)

The same situation prevails in the local communities. City federations are often authorized by the constituent churches to expend money, though at the same time the federation has no power to collect money from the churches to pay its bills. Many community federation constitutions contain such explanations as the following:

Note.—It is understood that the Council has no power of taxation, and that contributions must be voluntary. Until the churches are educated to the ideal of direct support by the churches, it is necessary to raise the funds needed by the contributions of individuals, which contributions may be

credited to the churches whose members make them and by contributions by the churches that are willing to give directly.

Here again, denominational rights (state rights) are safeguarded from the dangers of too trustful a union. In Federal Council literature the principle of states' rights is continually reiterated. For example, with regard to denominational autonomy we find the following:

In the original Plan of Federation the autonomy of the constituent bodies is wisely safeguarded. No action by the Federal Council, even though taken, as all its important actions have been taken, by the unanimous vote of the officially constituted delegates of the constituent bodies, can, by the terms of its constitution, be legally imposed upon those constituent bodies. Such action, by the terms of the constitution, goes back to the constituent bodies in the form of a recommendation for their action or ratification, which may either be assumed or definitely expressed.

The Council may not consider itself primarily as an independent entity, but rather as a common ground upon which the constituent bodies through their official delegates come together for coöperation.

The authority of City Federations of Churches is exceedingly limited. This is evidenced by the following almost nullifying provisions of a sample constitution:

SECTION 3. Any Church in the Council unwilling to coöperate in a movement determined upon by the Council shall be excused therefrom upon its request to that effect in writing, duly presented to the Council.

SECTION 4. Any Church that shall decide according to its

authorized methods to withdraw from the Council shall duly certify in writing such action to the Council.

The influence of the denominational bodies is so strong that this principle of jurisdiction has been necessarily emphasized in almost every conference on interchurch coöperation. Take for example such statements as these:

Conference Action Advisory Only. The following suggestions are understood not to be binding upon organizations here represented, nor upon other agencies, nor are they intended to interfere with the freedom of initiative and administration of any. The suggestions embody only the united opinion of those who have unofficially assembled for the consideration of matters of common interest. . . .

It is further the opinion of this conference that there is no sufficient occasion for the formation of an official federation of the agencies represented at this conference.

Conference Unofficial. The conference suggests that from time to time there should be conferences of representatives of the several interdenominational and related denominational and non-denominational religious agencies of the United States and Canada for the unofficial consideration of matters of common interest.

Even those who are seeking closer coöperation are by necessity forced to reiterate the principle of limited jurisdiction. This is made evident by an examination of the statement of "Principles to Guide Coöperative Relations," from John R. Mott's address on "Christian Coöperation." For example, Article 2: "To honor the independence, individuality, and autonomy

of the Christian agencies concerned." Article 7: "To simplify the machinery of coöperation to its lowest terms." Article 3: "Each of the agencies concerned should have a clearly defined field and function, *as defined by itself*." Article 6: "Among independent Christian organizations the inviting of coöperation or the accepting of invitations to coöperate must be purely voluntary, as contrasted with having some outside body attempt to force such coöperation."

It is clear, then, that the Federal Council, as to its functions and powers, classifies as one of the interdenominational administrative bureaus described above. It distributes information, holds conferences, submits recommendations, undertakes certain limited fiscal duties, but has no authoritative jurisdiction over its constituent bodies.

e Representation. The Federal Council is an ecclesiastical, not a popular organization. In all its literature, the fact stands out that it is not an interdenominational fellowship of individual citizens but an official ecclesiastical organization. One of its recent bulletins contains the following comparison: "The Council of Churches is to the religious life of the city what the Chamber of Commerce is to the commercial and industrial life." The distinction which we wish to draw here is that between the Chamber of Commerce and the city council; between the national Association of Manufacturers or the United States Chamber of Commerce—or the Farm Bloc—and the National Congress. The latter represents the whole people; the others represent vested inter-

ests. The contrast is that between the democratic method of representation of the whole people by locality and the socialist and syndicalist method of representation by occupational groups. It is this latter method which has been adopted by the Federal Council. Its assembly is composed of ecclesiastics representing the denominations, and not of lay members representing the people. An examination of its *Year Book* shows that this is the fact. Approximately 85 per cent of the Council and 76 of the 96 members of the Executive Committee are either ministers or professional church workers. Of course expert professional leadership is desirable. The point is that these experts are not elected directly by all the church people by locality but by distinct denominational groups whose interests they are bound to protect.

That the denominations as such do take pains to guard their own interests in the deliberations of the Council is evident in many provisions of the Constitution. One of these concerns denominational privileges in voting. The restrictions here make it possible for two or three large denominational groups to control the Council. The sixth article of the Constitution provides as follows: "Any action taken by the Federal Council shall be by general vote of its members. But in case one third of the members present and voting request it, the vote shall be by the bodies represented, the members of each body voting separately; and action shall require the vote not only of a majority of the members voting, but also of the bodies represented."

It is true that membership in the Council is determined by a modified form of proportional representation,⁵ but such a provision as the foregoing robs the delegates of their own individual rights as religious citizens and forces them to vote in the name and interest of their sect. It is as if the vote in the United States Senate should be taken, not by individual senators, but by States. Such a provision would make it as difficult to pass a simple resolution as to amend the United States Constitution. In fact, an approved measure in the Federal Council must go through precisely the same process as a national constitutional amendment, being necessarily referred to the denominational assemblies, acting in this case very much as the state legislatures, for their final approval.

The same denominational control extends to local federations. The Council represents the churches as churches, not the people as Christian citizens. The constitutional provisions for representation in a local federation are as follows:

ARTICLE 3. This Council shall be composed of those Evangelical Churches in (————) and vicinity that shall agree by their respective authorized methods, to unite with this organization. Each Church shall be represented in the Council by the pastor and two lay members, and one additional lay

⁵ "Each of the Christian bodies adhering to this Federal Council shall be entitled to four members and shall further be entitled to one member for every 50,000 of its communicants or major fraction thereof." "The Executive Committee shall consist of two representatives from each of the constituent bodies, preferably one minister and one layman, and one additional representative for every 500,000 of its communicants or major fraction thereof, who may be either a minister or layman."—Constitution Federal Council.

member for each two hundred members or major fraction thereof above the first two hundred members.

ARTICLE 4. There shall be a governing body to be known as the Assembly of the (————) Council of Churches, composed of the *officially appointed representatives of the churches* in its membership, together with the officers of the Council and the members of the Executive Committee of the departments and committees.

In national religious bodies the Christian citizens of the churches are not directly but only very indirectly represented. This is true both of the Federal Council and of the denominational conventions. Both the Federal Council and the denominational organizations may be compared with the Russian Soviet Republic in two respects: (1) the controlling bodies are the result of a series of indirect elections "so complicated as to need a genealogical tree to make them intelligible"; (2) they are far removed from the people and represent special interests. That this comparison, which is made in these two respects only, is justified will be made evident by the accompanying charts, which show clearly that the method of representation adopted by the Churches of Christ in America is precisely the same as that of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

This comparison of government by the organized workers in the denominations with government by the organized workers of industry holds not only in form but in principle. The form is similar because of the similarity of the underlying theory. Guild socialism is based on the economic man, and its parliaments are to

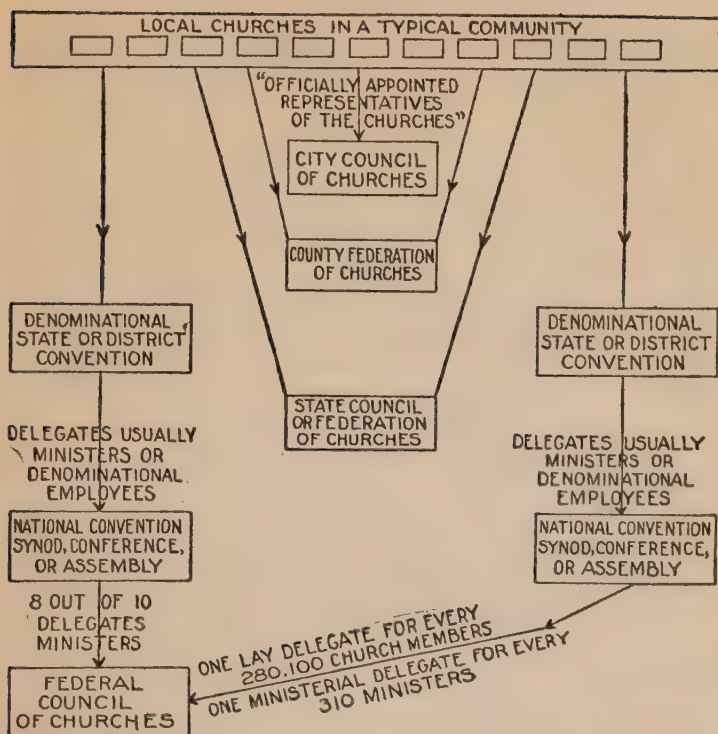


CHART IX COÖPERATIVE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

have two divisions, one representing consumers and the other producers. The federal councils are based on the religious man, and their assemblies represent two dominant interests, the religious producers and the religious consumers. This provision in parliamentary form for the stratification of religious society is a fatal mistake. Special privilege is no more justified when

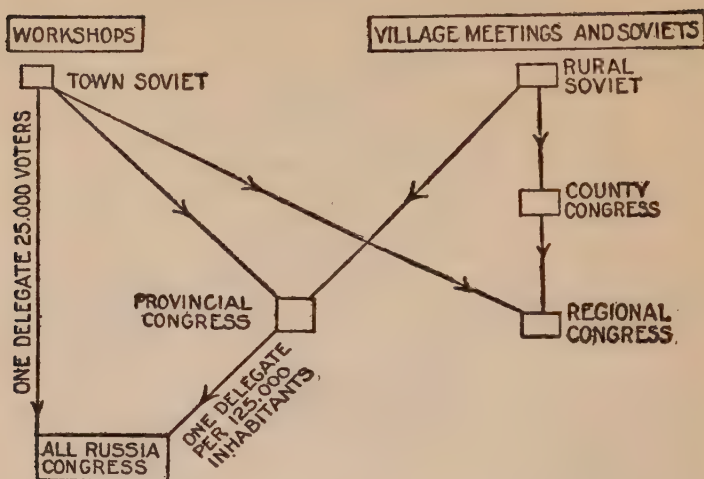


CHART X GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC (from R. W. Postgate, *the Bolshevik Theory*, p. 146)

granted to an ecclesiastical group in church government than when granted to the economic group in a soviet government. The state exists to preserve the balance between all groups and interests of men. The Church exists to foster the spiritual life of all citizens; church government may best do this when it allows all citizens equal representation in its councils. The soviet conceives of government by producers and consumers, not by citizens as citizens; the federal council plan conceives of government by ministers and church-

"The peasant vote counts for only $\frac{1}{5}$ its numerical strength."

"The controlling organs are not in touch with the people since they result from a series of indirect elections so complicated as to need a genealogical tree to make them intelligible."

"A party of 600,000 members only a portion of whom are active maintain a dictatorship over more than 125 millions people."

Sources: McBain, *The New Constitutions of Europe*, p. 384; William Ashley, "Bolshevism and Democracy," *Quarterly Review*, January, 1921; M. J. Olgin, "Mechanics of Power in Soviet Russia," *New Republic*, June 15, 1921; Ross, E. A., *The Russian Soviet Republic*; Cole, G. D. H., *Guild Socialism*; Blanc, Elsie, *Coöperative Movement in Russia*.

men, not by Christian citizens as Christian citizens. It is a violation of St. Paul's parable that none of the members shall dictate to any other—a picture based upon a view of the Church as a unified, not a stratified, institution; composed of members having unified selves (of one mind in Christ) and not divided by the conflicting demands of churchmanship and Christian citizenship.

It should be borne in mind that this comparison relates not to the program of the Federation as a whole but simply to one aspect of its parliamentary form. The principles of government which socialism emphasizes should be judged on their own merits. The principle of regionalism, emphasized by guild socialists, has long been a fundamental tenet of democracy. But the principle of functionalism is more in harmony with imperialistic tendencies, and will ultimately do more damage than good to the socialist cause and ideals. The Russian debacle is an evidence of this. Functionalism is based upon the necessity of satisfying

special interests. Is it not significant that the form of government adopted by the Federal Council has gravitated to the form adopted by those who deliberately plan to satisfy such interests, as in the Bolshevik scheme? ⁶

The fact should not be overlooked that the federations have made special effort to secure the coöperation of laymen. In the constitutions specific provision is made for lay participation. The literature of the Federal Council contains such sympathetic statements as the following: "The federation program offers unlimited possibilities for the utilization of the strength of the lay membership of the churches. This makes the Council more truly representative of the whole church and so better able to do the whole duty of the churches."

The "possibilities for the utilization of the strength of the lay membership," however, are limited by the fact that in federation assemblies the layman must always vote as a churchman, a sectary. The constitutional provisions of these organizations ⁷ force the layman to place sectarian, ecclesiastical, denominational interests first. This disability should be removed and the layman's primary right restored, the fundamental right of voting in his own name as a Christian citizen. Until this is done all attempts to enlist the enthusiasm of laymen will be inconsistent and futile.

⁶ For the socialist principles see Cole, *Social Theory and Guild Socialism*, and Webb, *Commonwealth*. For the Federal Council proposals, consult literature describing their parliamentary plans for counties, cities, states, etc.

⁷ See pages 215, 218, 219.

the People, who are the first Owners. And what! is Man become so unfortunate, degraded and debased, as to be without all Power in settling a Government over himself, relating to the Matters of his Eternal Well-Being? Or when he comes back to a Father's House, must he fall into the Capacity of a meer passive Being, and be put under such Tutors, as can easily turn Tyrants over him; and no relief left for him in his own hands; this is certainly most repugnant to the Light of Nature, and very disagreeable to the Liberty and free Genius of a Gospel State. Churches be settled by God, either in the hands of a Church-Monarch, or Aristocracy, and the People are no ways the Subject of Church-Power: Nay, if they are not under Christ, the fountain of Power; then the Reformation so called, is but a meer Cheat, a Schism, and notorious Rebellion; neither is there room left for the least palliation, or shadow of Excuse, for the Reformers in renouncing their Obedience to their Publick Governours. And the Martyrologies which pretend to immortalize the Fame of eminent Heroes, must be changed into Chronicles, handing along an account of the just and deserved fate of a crew of Rebels against God; and Government; for what business had such a Company of illiterate and crack brain'd fellows, to meddle with their Rulers, or Examine into their Administrations? For if they have no right of Power in Government, they stand absolutely bound to yield a passive Obedience and Non-Resistance; and if they are so hardy and daring as to oppose

New-England Vindicated.

pose their lawful Rulers, the sharpest penalty in this World, is too easie for them; the Inquisition is but dallying and playing with them, Hell is their desert. But how it comes about that a state of Grace, when in want of a suitable Government, is become such a Vassal, and wife and cunning Nature is by her Creator intrusted, and adorned with more enabling Prerogatives, I must leave; and resign unto those Learned Men to Solve, who plead for an Aristocracy in the Churches of Christ.

But to wind up the whole Discourse in a few words, I acknowledge many Objections may be here made, and several Questions of Moment might here fall under Debate; but having obtained what I have principally fought for, in traversing the paths of Nature, in the three following Particulars; therefore with them, and with one Objection answered; and also with some brief Improvement of the Grand Hypothesis in this Demonstration, I shall finish the Argument.

1. Three Particulars; 1. or so many golden Maxims, securing the Honour of Congregational Churches.

Particular 1. *That the People or Fraternity under the Gospel, are the first Subject of Power; or else Religion seeks the Dignity of Humane Nature into a baser Capacity with relation to Ecclesiastical, then it is in, in a Natural State of being with relation to Civil Government.*

Particular 2. *That a Democracy in Church or State, is a very honourable and regular Government according to the Distincts of Right Reason.*

And therefore, Particular 3. *That those Churches of New-England*

E 2

A LETTER

To a Gentleman Religious

Ruling Elders

in the CHURCHES.

Reverend SIR,

Understanding from the Brethren, who were desired to wait upon you with a Motion, to have the Church conducted to the Choice of suitable Persons to sustain the Office of Ruling Elders, that not only the Motion it self, but also my being concerned therein, seems offensive to your self; I think it my Duty more fully to declare my Principles (according to which I look on my self bound to act till I am convinced that I am in the wrong) and think I am not confusable for so doing, especially if they correspond with the Principles of the Reformed Churches in General, and the Platform of these Churches in particular; it being a Scriptural-direction, to follow the foot-steps of the Elders.

No. 6

PLATE IX (a) A VINDICATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF
THE NEW ENGLAND CHURCHES

Here we have a reference to the civil analogy in justification of religious freedom. Nature and the Gospel, divine and natural law, are sources of popular authority exercised as legitimately in the Church as in the state. Professor Tyler in his *History of American Literature* says that the author of this *Vindication* was the "most powerful and brilliant prose writer produced in this country during the colonial time."

PLATE IX (b) A LETTER RELATING TO THE OFFICE OF
RULING ELDERS

The growth of the American colonies led to the centralization of authority in religious as well as in secular matters. Numerous pamphleteers then appeared to defend congregational rights from the inroads of state control. Although colonial ministers loosed the lash of their rhetoric upon the atheistical champions of natural rights in politics, they did not scruple to avail themselves of the arguments of these free-thinking philosophers to defend a liberal church polity. The appeal to Scripture and primitive apostolic practice was supplemented by reference to the laws of nature and the even more primitive though imaginative *contrat social*. The illustrations given reflect both these methods of proof, the reference to nature as well as to nature's God. Thus the arguments of Locke, Rousseau, and even Tom Paine furnished ammunition for use in the cause of religious as well as political freedom.

It has been charged that the Federal Council is an ecclesiastical organization, making little provision for the coöperation of laymen. It is held that the Council is not a popular organization drawing its power from the people, but an ecclesiastical organization representing vested sectarian interests. And it is very certain that very few "of the lay membership of the churches" know or care whether they are represented or not. This is due to the indirect method by which the Council derives its precarious existence from denominational bodies.

By referring to the diagrams⁸ it will be seen that the Federal Council is built upon the churches as churches. Its delegates to city, county, and state conventions, as well as to the National Federation, come, not representing the religious sentiment of the community as Christian citizens, but representing the interest of their particular denominational group. They come not as Christian citizens representing the religious people of a given district or locality but as denominational members to represent the interests of a particular sect. The City Federations find it hard to exist because to rise in his own denomination each local minister has to assist in the demise of any co-operative effort which threatens to belittle sectarianism. The same thing must happen in the County and State Federations so long as they rest down upon churches which the denominations can control. To be entirely free and democratic in its representation, the Council should endeavor to rest its power, not

⁸ Pages 221, 259.

upon the churches as churches, but upon Christian citizens as Christian citizens.⁹ Representation should be by population and by locality. Denominational interests could be justly safeguarded by such a device as proportional representation.¹⁰ Interchurch government must in the first place be made more democratic. The central administrative bodies must find some way of going over the heads of the denominations, and of drawing their power directly from the people. Imagine the United States Government operating as follows: District conventions of the Republican, Democratic, Socialist, Farmer-Labor, and Prohibition parties, etc., etc., elect delegates to state conventions. State conventions elect delegates to a national convention. These national party conventions elect the representatives who compose the National Congress, which makes the laws and elects the cabinet and a President, the parties and the states refusing to obey the laws or to pay taxes at their own caprice. This is the status of interchurch government to-day. It is far removed from the people, and has no power. Interchurch co-operation arose to meet definite social and religious needs of the people. To do this effectively demands that when coöperative bodies have become more democratic they must be given more power.

⁹ "The General Assembly of the Church was to become a great force in the national history and to overshadow the Parliament in its struggle with Stuart absolutism. *The secret of its dynamic influence lay in the democratic polity* which afforded scope to the laity, as well as a non-hierarchic ministry, in ecclesiastical administration." —James Mackinnon, *On the Constitutional History of the Church of Scotland*.

¹⁰ See pages 262-266.

If we are called upon to face the fact that federalism involves more than association in a league—that it implies some unified organ over all, that every denomination accepting it must surrender some of its own prerogatives, we reply that we do face that very fact; and we must adjust ourselves to that fact or go on with diminishing effectiveness.

If it is protested that a huge organization of this sort opens the door to ecclesiastical politics and autocracy we refuse to be alarmed so long as the organization represents a genuinely popular movement. The people are becoming more and more able to take care of themselves against politicians and autocrats. The Spirit of Christ is in the world. What that spirit can accomplish for mankind will appear only when there is a Body of Christ with parts closely enough coördinated to prevent speech from stammering and progress from staggering.¹¹

The future of interchurch coöperative movements will see the extension of the principle of federation to its logical and practical conclusion. As to representation, federal church councils will come to draw their power, not only from the denominations, but also directly from the people. As to jurisdiction, a fuller measure of executive power will be given to interchurch federations, a wider jurisdiction carefully defined by constitutional provisions and adequately supported by public opinion. Church federations will be no longer merely ecclesiastical, but will become popular, democratic organizations. No longer will the Federal Council be merely a "weak confederation" resting on the level of immediate consent, but it will

¹¹ McConnell, *Democratic Christianity*, Chap. 2, "The Church of the People, by the People, for the People," p. 40.

become a commanding federal government, the kind of federal union of which Webster spoke when he said, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

In conclusion the following summary of arguments may be presented in behalf of a federation based on the juristic principle of sovereignty:

1 United effort is necessary if Protestantism is to survive its two great antagonists, paganism and Catholicism.

2 Federation presents a comprehensive and justifiable principle of Christian union.

3 Federation is the most practical method of inter-church administration.

4 The principle of federation, in so far as it has been adopted and acted upon, has been justified by its results.

5 The problems of federation can only be solved by participation, never by isolation.

6 Federation is the best method by which to oppose autocracy in government, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

7 Federation provides a safeguard against excessive cosmopolitanism in church government.

8 Federation provides for denominational integrity.

9 Federation provides for community integrity.

10 Federation is in harmony with the principles and practices of democracy.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1 Explain and defend the juristic theory of sovereignty.

2 Explain the pluralistic theory of the state.

3 Do you believe the foundation of authority to be (a) the will of the ruler, (b) the will of the majority, (c) small group or class interests, (d) social custom, (e) moral law, (f) traditional legal rights, (g) religious sanctions?

4 Make a study of the constitutions of Canada and the German Republic for the purposes of determining the relative advantages of central jurisdiction and concurrent jurisdiction. Would you advocate the adoption of the unitary system as in Great Britain and France, or the adoption of the federal principle as in the United States?

5 What is your opinion of the justice of the socialist scheme for central control through economic representation? Do you believe that ecclesiastical representation is equally just? What are the objections to economic or to ecclesiastical representation? Do you believe in a government by "blocs"? What is the place of the general public or laity in such a scheme? Is the comparison of church and soviet governments (Charts IX and X, pp. 221 and 222) an accurate and just analogy?

6 In parallel columns list the advantages and disadvantages of centralization of authority in interchurch government. Show how the church forces of the United States have suffered from a lack of spiritual homogeneity. Can you suggest methods of encouraging a community of religious consciousness among all denominations?

7 If the denominations should give supreme powers to a central government by means of a federal constitution, would it be necessary to establish a federal church judiciary to maintain the constitutional division of powers between the denominations and the federal government?

8 What are the advantages and disadvantages of decentralization in church government? Would over-centralization mean stagnation and intolerance? Does denominationalism

promote democracy or does it unduly encourage the fighting instinct in human nature? Should the present denominations be reorganized and denominational lines recast on clear-cut modern issues? If so, can you suggest methods for achieving such a reorganization?

9 What is the Federal Council of Churches? How did it originate, and what has it accomplished? How far can the sentiments of Washington and Hamilton (given on page 204) with reference to colonial federation in 1788 be expressed with reference to church federation at the present time?

10 Can you refute any of the arguments for federation summarized at the conclusion of this chapter? Can you add further arguments in favor of a strongly centralized federal church government?

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CHAPTER X

DEMOCRACY

I DEMOCRACY AS A MORAL IDEAL

The presence of the idealist in politics is not an accident. Politics is the battle-ground where the conflict of ideals is fought out. Conflicting views of life issue in conflicting attitudes toward democracy. These contrasting attitudes toward life have been expressed as the practical versus the idealistic, the Hellenic versus the Hebraic, poet versus prophet, Bohemian versus Puritan, phenomenalist versus absolutist, materialist versus religionist. Illustrations of these opposing attitudes may be found throughout the literature of political discussion. "The saner political theorist holds that in secular matters it is better to walk by sight than by faith," says Sir Henry Maine; to which Bryce replies: "Without Faith nothing is accomplished and Hope is the mainspring of Faith. Democracy will never perish till after Hope has expired." The aspirations for democracy have followed the swing of the pendulum from the desire for a return to the state of nature to the desire for a future state of millennial blessedness. Throughout all life as well as in politics, there is this seeming antinomy of desires.

Some sigh for glories of this world, and some
Sigh for the Prophet's Paradise to come.

The arguments for and against democracy take their color from these dominant attitudes; moods direct the search for proofs. The practical mind must deal with the human being as he is, "with all his imperfections on his head"; the mood of faith believes in "taking men on the basis of their hopes rather than of their achievements," and that "we work less through what we are than through what we worship." Here, also, we find the contrast between the will to believe and the believing will, between subjective and objective standards, between truth as created and truth as discovered. Some would hold that morality is the product of socialization, that "we will never be entirely Christianized until we are thoroughly democratized." Others believe that democracy is the result of an objective moral ideal sought and served as a permanent reality by a changing society; that the stability of democracy depends upon the free devotion of all the people, governed and governors, to an independent and universal moral object. The enduring fame of Washington, Lincoln, and Wilson is due to their consecration to this ideal. That democracy could not endure without the cultivation and dissemination of religious principles was the conviction of Washington. Lincoln was concerned not that God should be on his side, but that he should be on God's side. "Mr. Wilson stood with more clearness and distinction than any other man of our time for the moral idea of the Nation." ¹

¹ The Rev. George A. Gordon.

2 DEMOCRACY AS A METAPHYSICAL HYPOTHESIS

Do not these seemingly contradictory attitudes or antinomies of experiences arise because we do not view them under the aspect of eternity? May not thesis and antithesis be unified in a higher synthesis if only we can rise to high enough spiritual ground to comprehend it?

On the one side are the positivists, who, disregarding metaphysics, regard democracy as a great social experiment, to be justified by its works. On the other the idealist finds in democracy a "beloved community" in time, the manifestation of an eternal Absolute. A metaphysical theory which can provide a synthesis of the necessary truths of both these positions, eliminating their contradictions, should provide a firmer foundation for democracy than either one alone. The discussions in regard to democracy wander through many fields of human thought. In each of these fields faith and doubt, phenomenalism and metaphysics are contending for the right of way. One who is looking for arguments for or against democracy may therefore take his choice between genetic or formal logic, between a creative society or a created society, between prudential or providential morality, between social religion or revealed religion. Or a synthetic view may be evolved to reconcile the seeming contradictions. Dogmatically stated no such synthetic view which takes into account all the facts of experience and explains them in a coherent manner can be

arrived at short of metaphysics. The foundations of democracy rest on metaphysical theory. Politics deals with metaphysical beings; the word "self" is a theological term. The permanence of law and rights demands a universal ethical theory. The permanence and universality of law depends upon the permanence and universality of reality. The foundation of rights is morality; and the guarantee of morality is given only by philosophy and religion.

"The democratic experiment" is a phrase which is often used by both the advocates and opponents of democracy. It seems to place the emphasis on the changing rather than the permanent elements. Democracy is looked upon as the inductive method in politics. But all induction rests upon the metaphysical assumptions that knowledge is possible; that "man is a being, apt for the task of interpreting nature" (Royce); that he "has a natural bent in accordance with nature's" (Pierce); that there is an "inner unity between man and the world" (Kant). Without metaphysics no proof of anything, democracy included, is possible. It is because men's ideas "touch base in a non-impulsive background" of universal substance that they have any value in solving the difficulties of experience.

On the other hand there is reason for the objections which have been made against the aristocratic imposition of an abstract, formal, authoritarian ethics or logic on a concrete and changing nature and society. To say that democracy is the inductive method in politics is not to overlook the necessity of hypothesis,

nor the place of deduction from established principles. But the democratic hypothesis must establish a working contact with political life, and be open to revision with enlarging experiences.

The pragmatic criterion alone, however, is only a negative, not an ultimate logical proof. If democracy were not a fruitful hypothesis we should have some doubts as to its truth. But democracy could not be proved true simply on the ground that it works; it is a fruitful hypothesis because it is true, and not *vice versa*. Lotze says that hypotheses must be thinkable as well as useful; not only adequate but congruent. "Hypotheses must be in touch with fact, constructed on the determining conditions of the seen"; but the mind then has the power "to fit such necessitated results into one self-consistent system, with nothing left unexplained, incongruous or contradictory."²

The final test of the democratic hypothesis, the democratic experiment, must be, then, not only its fruitfulness in meeting human need and in satisfying "wills to power"; but the reason why it does satisfy must be explained as well. This demands that the theory be coherent, universal, and objectively true in the sense of being self-consistent and comprehensive. The system of thought must be self-consistent as well as consistent with the system of nature.

Because democracy is a comprehensive metaphysical theory, it reconciles the contradictions of political experience. Democracy meets the demands of the categories of thought and things—freedom and author-

² Hibben, *Logic*, p. 307.

ity, unity and plurality, permanence and change—fundamental principles of thought as well as primal predicates of empirical reality. The conflicting demands of freedom and authority, unity and plurality, permanence and change, have been the hidden forces in many a stubborn problem of church administration.

a Freedom and Authority in the Self and in Society.

The state is based upon finite selves who are both bond and free, bound by the limitations of natural law, habit, and obligations to society. The domain of freedom is limited, yet within it there is room enough for moral tragedies and moral victories. The highest freedom is moral freedom; yet the perfect will must subject itself to the government of the highest law. In society the freedom to gain social values is balanced by the restrictions which society places on liberty. A citizen has both rights and duties. All "belonging" brings not only advantages but bondage also.

In the State. Under a despotism slaves are never completely governed by others so long as their moral will remains unbroken. Yet in a democracy the citizens are never completely self-governing so long as the functions of government are delegated to others. "The moment there is a master," says Rousseau, "there is no longer a sovereign." But in obeying this the sovereign or general will, the people in democracy are only carrying out the terms of a self-imposed contract, and hence attaining their true freedom. The sovereign will is identified with the moral will, and though a man is forced to be free, he gains the moral liberty which renders him master of himself. It is

the impulse to appetite which is slavery, and obedience to self-prescribed law which brings liberty.³

Democracy reconciles the demands of freedom and authority so far as they can be reconciled. "There is manifest here one of those astonishing attributes of the body politic, by means of which operations which are in appearance contradictory are reconciled; for this is done by a sudden conversion of a sovereignty to a democracy, so that without any sensible change, and by only a new relation of all to all, the citizens—become magistrates,—pass from general acts to particular ones and from the law to the execution of it.—Such is the advantage peculiar to a democratic government." ⁴

The interrelations of freedom and authority, governed and governing, are expressed in the phrases, "Power over is power for," and, "Power for is power over." ⁵

This relationship is true of any form of government to a limited extent, but it is only in a democracy, where the will of the people is sovereign, that *power over* represents a proper balance of freedom and authority. The danger arises when democracies forget what their power is for. A majority may sometimes be as tyrannical as a king, but constitutional guarantees of free speech and free assembly, and the right to amend the constitution, give the minority liberty to make converts to new ideas. If freedom to promote and discuss

³ *Social Contract*, Book I, Chap. 9.

⁴ *Social Contract*, Book III, Chap. 18.

⁵ See Hocking, *Human Nature and Its Remaking*.

ideas is unrestricted they should gain power in proportion to their worth.

Rousseau's optimistic picture of the sovereign will as moral calls attention to the fact that both freedom and authority in a democracy rest on moral ideas. The moral ideal is the ultimate object of obedience of both ruler and ruled. Most forms of government recognize the place of divine authority in the state, but only a democracy stakes its life on the presence of the divine will in all the people. That the people have the power of discerning this ideal and the moral courage to obey it, is the faith of democracy. Faith that this moral ideal has the power of the universe behind it is necessary to sustain one's faith in democracy. A changing or fluctuating ideal, having no permanent or independent objectivity, means the undermining of democracy's foundations. In this connection the statement has been made that "there is nothing in the world of men or nature, as we naturally see it, that can justly claim a complete allegiance. The salvation of a soul requires a divine intervention." Does not the salvation of the Church require the recognition of divine intervention, also, in the person of a divine Saviour, and in His immanent presence in the souls of men? From these two sources the Church derives its authority.⁶

b *Unity and Plurality: In the Self.* The contradictory experiences of identity and change are most familiar to the self. Sensationalist or associationalist

⁶ "Church power resides in the Christ-filled believer." The Rev. E. L. Heermance, *Democracy in the Church*, p. 79.

theories do not adequately account for a person who is both subject and object, knower and known, permanent in the laws of his being although the content of experience is changing. Persons are at once separate and social in their nature. A theory of government must care for the growth and development of the will to power of each individual, at the same time interpreting this power in terms of its wider social meanings.

In Social and Political Theory. When the will to power "comes to itself" it finds that its own satisfaction depends upon increasing the values of life for all men everywhere. The tendency then is to sacrifice self for a cause. "It is the language of the patriot: I may fail but the idea of liberty must conquer; this measure of mine may be defeated but the policy or cause must triumph." Devotion to others is to give meaning to the life of society; but where does the individual get meaning to contribute to the common fund? The dilemma is this, that "to be disposed to save others, we must first be saved ourselves; yet to be saved ourselves we must be disposed to save others."⁷ The principle of vicariousness, necessary and noble as it is, is not final. For the individual will to have value and power, there must be some kinship between finite wills and the will of the universe. The will saves others not by its own power but by the power of a universal ideal in which all participate. The dilemma of how finite wills may participate in the infinite will is resolved by the Divine Aggression or Di-

⁷ Hocking, *Human Nature and Its Remaking*, p. 385.

vine Revelation. The unification of society depends upon something transcending as well as present in the phenomenal social process. Democracy is the theory of the state best fitted to cope with this society of metaphysical selves discovering and participating in an objective reality.

The Individual versus the Community. Bryce points out these two tendencies in human nature; one asserting the rights of the individual conscience, the other, the rights of society. Heretofore, "the spirit of democracy has fostered the sense of personal independence, self-determination, and self-realization of the individual citizen. For individuality is precious and the nation profits by the free play of its best minds and the unfettered development of its strongest characters." But the expression of the other set of tendencies is finding its way also into the history of democracies. Lately "the world seems to be entering on an era when the principles of associated action and community dominance are gaining strength. Individualism is being balanced by a passion for moral reform and community welfare. State control restricts the sphere of individual will and freedom. But where the evident good of society is involved individual preferences will be forced to give way."⁸ Democracy is proving its practicality by gradually resolving the conflicting demands of the individual and of the community.

Pluralist versus Absolutist. In regard to the problem of unity and plurality those who have been most

⁸ See Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, pp. 61-65.

interested in advocating sectarian aims adopt the point of view of the pluralist. The pluralist tends to emphasize individual and small group interests, and liberty. He is impressed with the irreconcilable differences among the members of society. Though he has a general prejudice against viewing life as a whole through metaphysical glasses, he generally ends by trying to interpret all of life in terms of one of the aspects of life, and in trying to organize a state on the basis of one of the elements of human association. Men have many interests and not one only; but the theory of the pluralist lacks a unifying element.

The absolutist emphasizes the large group interests, and the place of authority. Individual differences are slighted over as of small significance. The monistic point of view tends to blot out moral distinctions and individual political responsibilities as inconsequential. Akin to the pantheism of the East, in which the individual finds his freedom in absorption in the All, this theory proposes a "democracy of insignificance." The state is given too exalted a place when it is identified with the World Spirit; and true freedom consists in obedience to all its mandates. The state itself owes an obedience to a transcendent moral order; only in proportion to the completeness and sincerity of this obedience does it have a right to demand allegiance from individuals.

"Unity in diversity and diversity in unity," said Merle d'Aubigné, "is a law of Nature, and also of the Church. Without unity religion cannot be of God,

without diversity it cannot be the religion of man. In religion we must neither leave out God nor man." ⁹

The democratic theory proposes a synthesis of these two views. The democratic form is flexible enough to comprise both interests under its ægis. In a democracy loyalty to a small group becomes a way of expressing loyalty to a large group. This is because a democracy can use all the products of the small group; the democratic spirit is hospitable to the new ideas and new life springing from small group relations. Unity and plurality in society can only be conceived coherently in terms of the relationships of separate souls to one another and to the individual center of the universe.

c *Permanence and Change: In the Individual.* Sir Henry Maine has called attention to the bondage of the individual in the chains of habit and custom. "The great majority of mankind," he says, drawing illustrations from China and India, African and Mohammedan, "detests change, and has never shown a particle of desire that its civil institutions be improved. Human nature is not wedded to change." ¹⁰ It is true that individuals cherish the consciousness of a personal identity amid a changing experience. There

⁹ D'Aubigné, *History of the Reformation*, Book II.

"The church of the future will include a far greater variety of organization, worship, and doctrine than has ever yet been seen. No plan of Christian union can be conceived that does not admit these varieties and recognize in all of them helpful and necessary expressions of that Christian liberty which is perfectly consistent with loyalty to Christ." (Herbert L. Willett, *Our Plea for Union and the Present Crisis*, p. 125.)

¹⁰ Maine, *Popular Government*, pp. 134, 144.

is a permanent self which makes possible the experience of change. But the will is seldom wholly centralized or totally effective. Like clouds which obscure the sun, various incomplete selves float before the central eye of the mind.

The hope of democracy lies in placing the emphasis not on the bondage to habit but on human aspirations for better things. The individual's will for power does imply a unified self; it is a central instinct. But it also implies the possibility of a rebirth of the self in terms of the continuous reinterpretation of the will to power in the light of new insight into the meaning of life as a whole. Insight, detachment, vision means reinterpretation, revaluation, reformation. The striving for satisfaction becomes the pursuit of perfection. The "quest of meaning" becomes the "quest for blessedness." Sin becomes the deliberate choice of the self to dwell in a disintegrated personal world. Salvation demands the continuous reintegration of the self to make a place in personal life for new meanings and new values. Rebirth implies both permanence and change in the individual. Consequent on the presence of these two elements there are two lines of participation open to a citizen in a democracy. Conversion, rebirth, creativity being due to contact with a permanent ideal, change itself demands participation in the vision of perfection. A second kind of participation more often referred to is participation in the life of a changing society. It is important for democracy to recognize participation in the permanent ideals as well as in the changing activities of life.

In the State. Autocracy and absolutist theories emphasize the place of permanence as an essential principle of law and statecraft. Their arguments breathe a desire for unity and system; a profound reverence for tradition and deep respect for achievements of the past. They are usually based upon formal logic assuming *a priori* certain authoritative hypotheses, such as divine right of kings, papal infallibility, or the sovereignty of the national state.

On the other hand, the non-metaphysical view of democracy emphasizes change as valuable for its own sake. This is especially true of instrumentalist and pragmatic theories. This view is a popular one, but it is not a credit to democracy. It is akin to the individualism which has reduced democracy to a "mere name standing for nothing unitary and real."¹¹ Such a wholesale rejection of permanent principles opens the way for the charge that "a democracy may be defined as a crowd which has imbibed delight in change for its own sake."¹² Democracy as a metaphysical theory and democracy without metaphysical theory makes all the difference between a *dynamic democracy* and a *dissipated democracy!*

Democracy as a metaphysical theory has a place for both permanence and change. From the standpoint of a formal deductive logic this might prove contradictory, which would only show the logic inadequate to explain the experience. From the standpoint of a live logic, rather than a formal logic, willing to use the

¹¹ Hocking, *Morale and Its Enemies*, p. 79.

¹² Maine, *Popular Government*, p. 134.

inductive as well as the deductive method, and to modify hypotheses to meet the revelations of new truth, change and permanence may live together in peace. Political experience demands a theory to reconcile and properly place these two elements; this is what democracy does.

Both permanence and change may be regarded as due to the immanent presence of a purposeful God in the lives of individuals. Democracy recognizes that government is dealing with metaphysical selves who are both permanent and changing units of society. In the second place democracy regards the state as in process of change to meet changing conditions. Its hypotheses are not authoritatively and inevitably fixed, but are open to revision.

Bryce goes so far as to say that "the only thing we do know about the future is, that it will differ from the past." He goes on to say: "Whatever else history teaches, it gives no ground for expecting finality in any human institution. That which the ancient poet said of the mind of man, that it changes with every returning sun, is true of nations also, whose thoughts and temper vary from year to year, and true also of the institutions men create, which are no sooner called into being than they disclose unexpected defects, and begin to decay in one part while still growing in another." ¹³

Professor Hocking rests the case for permanence upon the constant purpose of a loving Mind: "What we call laws are no stable principles of nature: they

¹³ Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, p. 656.

are experimental adjustments made by a mind which has a care both for the value of the whole and for the interest of every dot in the pattern, and with the ceaseless vigilance and continuity of thought of an inventor, follows experiment with experiment forever." ¹⁴

In the Church. Democracy therefore need hold no terrors for those interested in the preservation of permanent principles. A democratic church will provide the opportunity for the development of new personalities in a new society, but it will also preserve the irreplaceable heritage of the past.

Democracy regards the Church as the permanent empirical representative of a universal society. As such the Church provides a permanent guarantee for democracy, a permanent foundation in the consistent nature and constant purposes of Reality itself. Being permanent in time, the democratic Church provides the equipment for self-knowledge and self-development, for a concrete immortality, for a kingdom on earth as well as in heaven. And, being transcendent as well as immanent, beyond and above as well as in society, it can provide a permanent moral ideal in the pursuit and realization of which the soul starts on its road toward eternal life.

It is the Church which gives permanence and more than local and temporary meaning to men's religious experiences. There are some religious events of the past which will never be repeated and which the Church as an institution has preserved. The Bible of Civiliza-

¹⁴ Hocking, *Morale and Its Enemies*, p. 84.

tion can never replace the Word of God. Science can never write another Decalogue. No higher Revelation will be given than the Christian Revelation. Democracy does not challenge the authority of the Church on these points. A united democratically federated Church would provide the stable framework to safeguard and protect the religious experience and achievements of men. Besides making provision for a continuous and progressive development, the democratic Church would prevent our religious life from being a perpetual recurrence of ancient mistakes, and give significance and value to our individual thoughts and performances. A democratic federation would then not look upon change as destruction, but as fulfillment. And it would provide also the conditions for permanence, in the case of the message of Revelation, the significant religious experiences of the race, and all valuable religious institutions. A democratic federation of churches would thus serve to prevent the other institutions of our changing democracy from going to pieces like the house upon the sand. Such a united, democratic Church thus seems to come in answer to the age-long prayer of mankind, "Establish Thou the work of our hands upon us; Yea, the work of our hands establish Thou it."

3 STEPS TOWARD DEMOCRACY IN CHURCH GOVERNMENT

Democracy has always looked to Christianity for support. Two correlative principles brought out in

the Reformation controversies of the sixteenth century gave impetus to the democratic movement; namely, the priesthood of all believers, and the right of private judgment. These principles rest upon the universal ideals of Christianity, which have stimulated the development of democracy: the infinite value of the human soul, and the brotherhood of man. From the religious point of view every vote is a prophetic responsibility. "Democracy without religion," it has been said, "is neither a true nor a secure principle of social structure. The individual who finds and worships God stands at the source of the community and its welfare." "Where is the spirit of the Lord, there is Liberty!" In view of this inherent harmony between religion and democracy, the organization of the Christian church can never rightly or consistently be other than democratic.

In this connection a quotation from Dr. Henry C. Sheldon is in point. He says: "It is not to be overlooked that the normal progress of ecclesiastical society may very well be regarded as justifying and even demanding changes in forms of administration. The propriety of such forms is by no means independent of the character of the constituency to which they apply. In the civil sphere the growth of a self-governing faculty in the people tends universally to abolish absolute monarchy and to introduce a type of government either virtually or formally republican. This involves no usurpation on the part of the people; it is in the rational order, and therefore in the divine order, and no record of anointed kings who have ruled

with a high hand can bring its rightfulness into dispute. Similarly, for aught that any one is authorized to assert, growth in religious intelligence and in ability of self-direction may legitimate changes in ecclesiastical administration, more or less comprehensive movements from a hierarchical type toward a republican or democratic type. The assumption that, because Christ gave special responsibilities to a select group of disciples, therefore all legitimate ecclesiastical authority must be in a straight line of succession from them, and no change is warrantable except by the initiative of the upper rank of a hierarchy, is a thoroughly disputable assumption. The choice of the specially trained group was a practical expedient for securing the establishment of Christianity in the world. No one is qualified to say that it supplies the authoritative norm for the perpetual government of the Church. As peoples, in the order of divine providence, reach a stage of self-governing capacity, so it might be that the general body of Christian citizens should come to a point of competency to shape ecclesiastical government, and be guilty of no disloyalty to Christ in so doing." ¹⁵

The introduction of the democratic principle into church government is contingent upon three general lines of advance.

a *Universal Christian Education*: the religious education of all church members in all matters pertaining to church affairs to such an extent that they will be capable and willing to exercise the

¹⁵ *Sacerdotalism in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 406-407.

power intrusted to them. Theological illiteracy and spiritual illiteracy must be removed before church democracy will be possible or practicable. This building of a dependable religious public opinion demands union of effort in the educational work of the Church. The Catholic parochial school system is avowedly undemocratic; its purpose is admittedly not to make citizens but to make Catholics. The adoption by the Protestant churches of a system of sectarian religious education is virtually an approved imitation of the Catholic parochial system. The denominational organization and control of religious education in such a manner as to "shoot lines of sectarian cleavage among the children and youth of all the communities of the nation" is a program prejudicial not only to the welfare of the democratic Church but also to the stability of the democratic state.

Democracy in the Church depends upon that large body of common knowledge, history, and religious belief to which all the Protestant churches are joint heirs in Christ. Doctrinal differences provide too small a basis on which to erect the great superstructure of Christian education. It is significant in this connection that the lesson material used in nearly all the Protestant Sunday-schools of this country is prepared by the same Lesson Committee and printed on the same presses, *the only doctrinal difference being the denominational publisher's imprint on a separate cover*. In this way the specific messages of the separate sects are given, by the educational leaders of the denominations themselves, only a minor place in the

great harmony of Christian truth. The curriculum material of all the sectarian Sunday-schools aims to inculcate similar religious knowledge, similar Christian ideals and habits of conduct, similar loyalty to the same Saviour. This common curriculum material studied for a generation or two will produce a public sentiment prepared to demand a unity in church administration to correspond with unity of Christian conviction. Universal Christian education will produce a universal religious knowledge and Christian public opinion as a safe foundation for the popular government of the Church. The hope of Christian democracy in the church of the future rests in the children who are to-day being grounded in the fundamentals of the Christian faith.

Coöperative community efforts in religious education should be administered by a non-denominational organization. This organization should guarantee academic freedom and professional leadership. It should broadly represent the religious citizenship of the country and grow out of the problems of the community. It should be free from ecclesiastical or commercial control. Its governing boards should be created by the people and be responsible to the people.

Organizations created to perpetuate class interests cannot be successfully federated for the prosecution of a program which emphasizes the common elements of religious experience. Just as the public school guarantees the homogeneity of a democratic citizenship by providing common attitudes, ideas, and ideals as the basis of collective thinking and acting, so some organization should set for itself the task of organizing and administering a continent-wide program of religious education which would guarantee the spiritual unity of a democratic

citizenship. Public education rests upon the people and is administered by a non-partisan school board; community programs of religious education should rest upon the people and be administered by a non-denominational board of religious education.¹⁶

b *Popular Control in Regional Units*: the formation of local federations of churches, drawing their power directly from the Christian citizens of the community. In denominational and community relationships such federations will be guided by the principles adopted by the framers of the Constitution of the United States. A democratic federation draws its power from both the states and the people, and exercises it for the benefit of both the states and the people. The principle of popular control of such a federal form was fully discussed in the early years of the American union and is now generally accepted.

The Federal Council of Churches has already recognized the importance of the principle of regionalism. Statements from the Council reports make clear this effort to safeguard the principle of community integrity:

The coöperative movement must not only have the working fellowship of the national church bodies but must be able to move out *across all the country through State, county, city and village*.

A State Council or Federation is an autonomous body having no organic relation with the Federal Council or with the city or county councils of the State.

As a matter of fact, *the whole coöperative program*, which

¹⁶ Athearn, W. S., *Character Building in a Democracy*, p. 155.

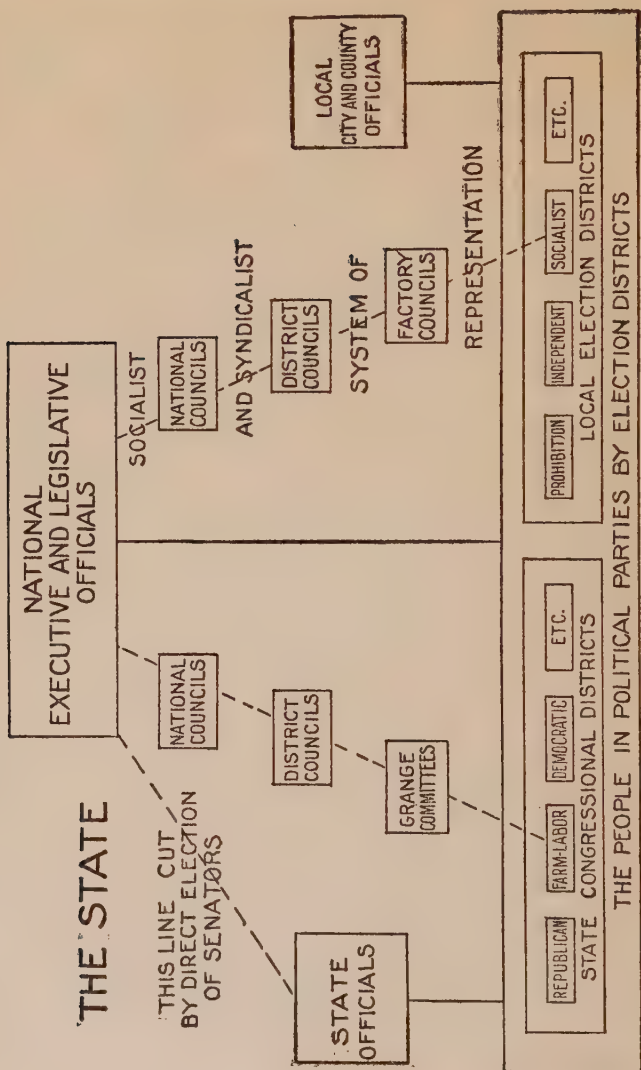
the churches are carrying on through the Federal Council, *depends largely for its success on the movement for local federation.*

Every local community, moreover, has its own special problems which demand the coöperation of its own churches for their solution, and which cannot be met in any way by a national organization with headquarters in New York.

Strong local federations under popular control would provide a firm foundation for the erection of more secure federal structures in state and nation. Such local federations through popular assemblies would provide for a return to the town-meeting type of democracy in church government—meetings in which members would appear not as ecclesiastical representatives of the denominations but as Christian citizens representing the total religious interests of the whole community. Denominational interests would be safeguarded in such assemblies through a system of proportional representation; although the vote would not be taken by churches, but each church member would vote in his own name as a Christian citizen of the community. Elections might be held through the churches where possible without sectarian interference; but arrangements should be made so that the various councils could lay out their own election districts and supervise their own elections. This would be to bring church government as near to the people as civil government, and, besides giving stability and authority to coöperative enterprises, would inspire a remarkable revival in the religious interest and Christian life of the people.

c Direct and Proportional Representation: the invention or adoption of electoral and referendum devices, based on sound political science, which will bring control more directly into the hands of all the people.

Even such a venerable document as the Constitution of the United States has not been immune from the criticism of modern writers on political science. It has been pointed out that among other compromises in that document the representative principle suffered greatly by the number of checks and hindrances that were placed in the way of direct popular control of government. Economic and commercial interests, it is charged, were paramount in the formation of the Constitution; and it is further charged that during approximately the first hundred years of its independent existence the nation was dominated by the aristocratic and commercial classes and during these latter years by its wealthy financiers and captains of industry—the barons of the new feudalism. “The Senate has become the fortress of plutocrats and bosses, and the Representatives are the vassals of the Senators. Away with the go-between; let the people rule!” These statements simply indicate the current of popular belief that representative assemblies such as we have known in the past are no longer responsive to the will of the people. Legislatures have in so many instances failed to accomplish effective work, because of the pressure of sectional or private interests, that demand has arisen for more direct methods of control of governmental functions.



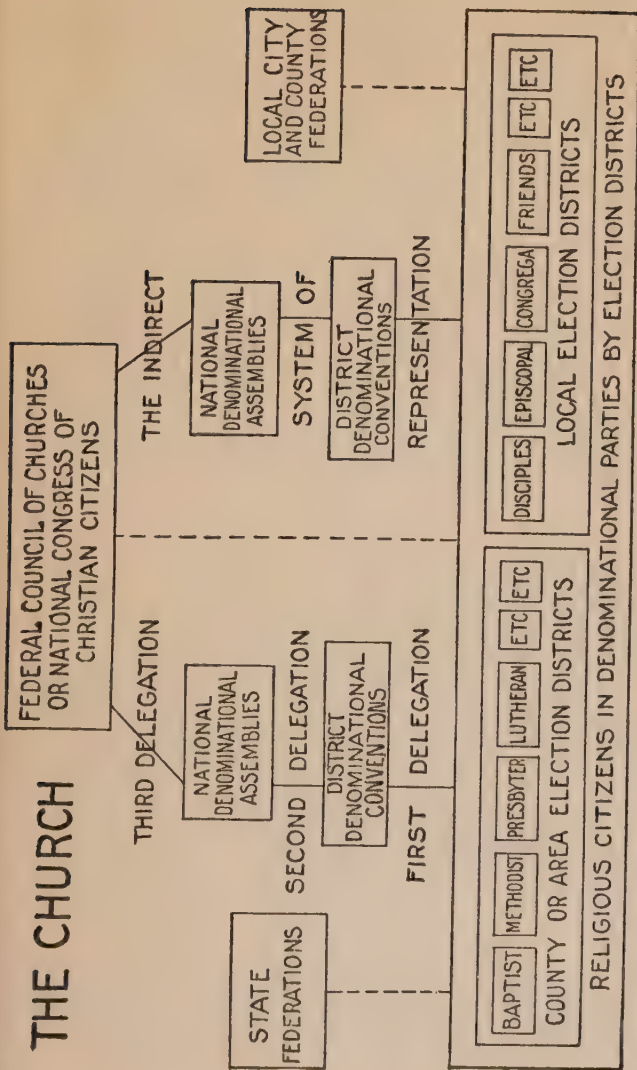


CHART XI THE CIVIL ANALOGY: POPULAR CONTROL IN REGIONAL UNITS

The heavy lines indicate present systems of representation; the dotted lines illustrate other systems discussed in this book.

(1) *Initiative, Recall, Referendum.* These direct methods have been demanded not only for the control of legislative, but also of executive and even judicial functions. Originating over one hundred years ago in the Swiss cantonal assemblies, which met only *ad audiendum et referendum*, i. e., for hearing and referring to the people, the measure has aroused popular enthusiasm in many democratic countries.

In the United States the initiative and referendum have been adopted in twenty-two States and the recall in eleven. In only four of these, however, does the recall apply to judicial officers or decisions. From 1900 to 1918 a total of 717 measures were submitted by state governments to the electorate through the action of the referendum. The tendency seems to be toward the increased use of these direct methods of popular control.

In the use of the state-wide referendum care must be taken that the questions submitted are not so trivial or local as to lack interest, nor so complicated nor technical as to be unsolvable by the voter, nor so many in number as to prevent a satisfactory solution. With these restrictions in mind church governments might well consider the use of these methods in certain cases. The problem of Canadian Church Union, for example, was submitted by the Parliament to a referendum of the people.¹⁷

¹⁷ For an account of the deliberations of the General Council, history, and organization plans of The United Church of Canada, see issues of *The Christian Century* for Nov. 6, 1924; June 25, 1925; *Zion's Herald*, June 24, 1925; *Christian Guardian* (Toronto) Feb.

CONGREGATIONAL INDEPENDENCY

IN CONTRADICTION TO

EPISCOPACY AND PRESBYTERIANISM;

THE CHURCH POLITY

NEW TESTAMENT.

BY

RALPH WARDLAW, D.D.

THIS IS A NEW EDITION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, AS REVISED BY THE SYNOD OF
THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, IN 1846, AND AS REVISED BY THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, IN 1854.

GLASGOW:

JAMES MACLEHOSE, 33 BECHANAN STREET.

A Booke

*WHICH SHEWETH THE
life and manners of all true Christians,
and how unlike they are unto Turkes and Papistes
and Heathen folke.*

*Also the pointes and partes of all diuini-
tutes, that is of the true alce and wright of God are
declared by these several Detinitions,*

and Detinitions.

ROBERT BROWNE.



MIDDLEBURGH,

Printed by Richard Painter.

1582.

PLATE X (a) BROWNE, LIFE AND MANNERS OF ALL TRUE
CHRISTIANS

An advocate of the separation of Church and state when heresy meant death, Robert Browne furnished inspiration for a host of later writers. Many of the ideas of John Locke's *Letters on Toleration* are more cogently presented in the works of Browne. His treatment of the relation of the civil magistrate to the Church is set forth in *A Treatise of Reformation Without Tarrying for Anie and of the Wickedness of Those Preachers which will not Reforme Till the Magistrate Commaunde or Compell Them*. In regard to Browne's works Dr. H. M. Dexter, in *Congregationalism as Seen in Its Literature*, says: "These Books were sent over in sheets into England where they were bound and circularized by warm sympathizers there; where they arrived at the dignity of drawing a special proclamation from the queen; and where, before Browne trod again his natal soil, two men had been hanged for dispersing the same."

PLATE X (b) CONGREGATIONAL INDEPENDENCY by Dr.

Wardlaw was the result not only of scholarship but of experience. Dr. Wardlaw led one of the early separatist movements which finally brought about the disruption of the Established Church in Scotland. When Alexander Campbell was a student at the University of Glasgow he attended Dr. Wardlaw's lectures. This book, together with the personal friendship of the author was influential in forming the ideals of church polity which Mr. Campbell afterward recommended for the organization which was to become known as the Disciples of Christ.

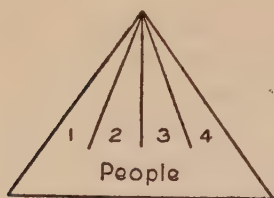
(2) *Nomination and Election Reforms.* In common with legislative bodies, the old methods of nomination and election have been scathingly criticized by recent writers. A chief object of their attack has been the party convention system of nominating political candidates. Irresponsible, "invisible" government controlled by the political boss through the party machine is so common as to need no mention were it not for the fact that it often finds its counterpart in ecclesiastical organizations. Both private students and public leaders have united in condemning this system and its results not only in the secular but also in the ecclesiastical domain.¹⁸

The accompanying diagrams will show how the indirect system of nomination and election lends itself to machine control. In Figure 1 the government is stable because the people have direct control of lawmaking and lawmakers. In Figure 2 the heavy horizontal lines show how the people are cut off from direct control of the ultimate executive authority. The more delegate conventions which are interposed between the people and their object the more opportunity there is for the political boss to control the final delegations. Such conventions, whether political or religious, usually merely "rubber-stamp" the machinations of a secret cabal which controls the organization. The indirect system is therefore characterized as relatively insecure and unstable, and by the lines of cleavage

1925; *The Toronto Globe*, June 10-22, 1925; the official journal *The New Outlook*, Toronto, Vol. I, No. 1, June 10, 1925; *The United Church of Canada Act*, *King's Printers*, Ottawa.

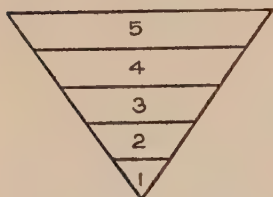
¹⁸ See pages 132-134 and 267-269.

which exist between the people and the final executive authority.



- 1 Direct Election of President.
- 2 Direct Election of Senators.
- 3 Direct Election of Representatives.
- 4 Direct Legislation through Initiative and Referendum.

Figure 1 *Democratic System of Direct Representation*



- 1 Controlling Committee or Board of Directors.
- 2 National Conventions—Church or State.
- 3 State Conventions.
- 4 District Conventions.
- 5 The People.

Figure 2 *Party System of Indirect Representation*

CHART XII DIRECT VERSUS INDIRECT REPRESENTATION

"The enduring work of making this world Christian will be accomplished in the future as in the past by the type of religious effort whose center of gravity falls within its base." (Nickerson, *Christianity—Which Way?* p. 81.)

(3) *Proportional Representation.* The remedy for these conditions has been sought in various forms of the direct primaries, the short ballot, and proportional representation. The latter method is a device well suited for use with large numbers of voters to insure that minority parties shall be represented in proportion to their numbers. If the Prohibition party,

for example, polled only 5 per cent of the voters of the nation, they would be entitled to one twentieth of the seats in the legislature; votes from all parts of the country would be included in the total. It is asserted (a) that this method brings out the vote, and (b) that legislatures so composed know and execute the actual will of the people with greater precision. Its advantages over the plurality system have been so evident that it has now been introduced in the following countries: Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, Finland, German Republic, Irish Free State, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland. The system used in France is unlike that in Switzerland in that the method used in the latter country is not only proportional but also preferential, the voters being allowed to indicate second and third choices.

Voluntary organizations have found proportional representation very practicable in securing a fair and just division of offices among various elements of a constituency. It has been adopted by certain labor organizations, notably the National Women's Trade Union League. The alumni associations of University of Minnesota and Smith College elect their officers by this plan; and the University of Minnesota and Amherst College use this method for the election of the alumni members of their board of trustees. This plan has been successful in the election of governing officials and even of school authorities in some of the larger cities and counties of England and Scotland.

TABLE V TABLE ILLUSTRATING USE OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION IN CHURCH GOVERNMENT

1 GLASGOW

a. *Education Authority Election, 6th Division, 9 seats*

<i>Party</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Seats</i>	(Quota 2558)
Catholic	6,204	2	
Labor	2,362	1	
Non-Catholic (unorganized)	15,588	6	
Coöperators	1,418	0	
Totals	25,572	9	

b *Parliamentary Elections, Glasgow, 1918*

<i>Party</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Seats</i>
Coalition (Liberal and Unionist)	161,540	12
Coalition Labor	14,247	1
Independent Labor	83,901	1
Independent Liberal	19,054	0

Independent Labor, casting over half as many votes as the Coalition Party, obtained only one twelfth as many seats.

2. RENFREWSHIRE

a *Education Authority Election, 1919*

<i>Party</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Seats</i>
Presbyterian Churches	13,931	15
Roman Catholic	11,063	8
Independents	6,896	6
Labor and Coöperatives	5,958	5
Farmers	1,249	1
British Socialist party	154	0
Totals	39,251	35

b *Parliamentary Elections, Renfrewshire, 1918*

<i>Party</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Seats</i>
Coalition	39,078	2
Labor and Coöperatives	21,660	0
Independent Liberals	18,475	2
Socialists	2,552	0
Totals	81,755	4

The Labor and Coöperative voters with 21,660 votes secured no representative; the Independent Liberals with 18,475 votes secured two representatives, as many as the Coalition party with 39,000 votes. "Unfair results are so common in the parliamentary elections that there is a general consciousness that the House of Commons lacks the authority which should belong to the great assembly of the nation. The authority of representative institutions declines as soon as it is realized that they are not fairly represented." (This material from the Scottish Education Authorities: Election 1919, Pamphlet No. 42, 1919, British Proportional Representation Society.)

In Scotland, partisan, sectarian, and local loyalties are very intense; and when the administration of education was reorganized on a wider basis by the act of 1918 it was realized that some form of election was required which would provide for the adequate representation of minorities. This situation presents such a striking parallel to the denominational rivalries in the United States that space has been taken for presenting the essential fairness of the proportional scheme as contrasted with the majority-vote election. This may be done by two tables (page 264) showing that in the proportional plan, every vote is counted and every faction has its proportion of the elected representatives, whereas in the majority plan large groups of voters are left without any representation whatever.

In conclusion, it has been the purpose of this chapter:

(1) To point out some principles of democratic government.

(2) To indicate methods which have been devised to apply these principles to affairs of the state.

(3) To suggest that the spiritual power must be no longer an imitator of the temporal but must, by the

independent application of sound principles of political science to Church government, teach the state by example what the government of the Commonwealth of God should be like.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1 Give an account of the 'ethical basis of democracy. How does it differ from the economic theory of the state? Is the social instinct alone a sufficient basis for the state?

2 "The question of the permanency of democracy," says Bryce, "resolves itself into the question as to whether mankind is growing in wisdom and virtue." Why is *virtue* regarded as the *principle* of a republic? How would Aristotle, Milton, Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau have answered this question?

3 What do you regard as the chief argument in favor of Professor Hocking's assertion that "democracy without religion is neither a true nor a secure principle of social structure"? From what Christian teachings can the rise of democracy be traced?

4 What is meant by the proposition, "No liberty without some bondage"? What does Rousseau mean by saying that under the terms of the social contract the citizen "will be forced to be free"? Discuss the thesis, "One will be truly free in that society which reflects back to him his ideals of moral value." What is the meaning of St. Paul's dictum, "Where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty"? State the essential aspects of the ideals of liberty, fraternity, and equality, and show how they are related to the Christian religion and to ecclesiastical organization. Do you agree with Dr. Peter Ainslie when he says, "There is a denominational inequality among Christians as definitely marked as inequality among races or in society"?

5 What do you think of the justice of Professor Cutten's statement, in his *Psychology of Religion*, that "we have our Protestant Popes no less autocratic than their Catholic ante-type"; and that of the Rev. Dr. Nickerson in his *Christianity—Which Way*, "Nowadays the sectarian bigot takes his orders from denominational headquarters instead of from Rome"? Contrast the spirit of Catholicism and the spirit of Protestantism with reference to the spirit of democracy. Trace the historic and theoretical connection between Protestantism and democracy.

6 Discuss the problem of unity and plurality with reference to church government. What is the meaning of d'Aubigné's statement, "Without unity religion cannot be of God, without diversity it cannot be the religion of man"? How can uniqueness and variety in religious life be preserved without isolation, misunderstandings, and conflicts? How can the Church preserve the integrity of individuals and groups and at the same time promote coöperation for Christian social aims?

7 Does denominationalism dissipate our moral and religious heritage? To what extent can sectarianism be charged with what Macaulay and Burke called "institutional waste"? With what justice can Bishop McConnell's phrase "democracy gone wild" be applied to (a) the idealistic theory of the state, (b) the realistic theory of the state, (c) the pluralistic state, (d) the sectarian church?

8 Discuss the merits and defects of political democracy. Discuss the advantages and difficulties of democracy in (a) education, (b) industry, (c) the Church.

9 Is democracy consistent with efficiency in church administration? The Rev. C. L. Hay says: "Probably some unthinking people fancy that professional religious leaders are more interested in the political 'slate' than in constructive programs of inspiration and training. This is positively not so.

They are simply enmeshed in our denominational machinery and cannot escape until we modernize the machinery." Have machine politics and patronage deterred the best men from assuming denominational administrative duties? How far is it true that denominational machinery suffers from the "difficulty of locating responsibility for inefficiency," and from "inexpert political control over administrative experts"? Are there such things as denominational "red tape," theological "mud-slinging," or ecclesiastical "pork-barrels"? Make a diagram showing the organization of your denomination and a list of suggested measures for simplifying and improving its administration.

10 In view of the following quotations, what place do you believe should be granted in a program of Christian union to (a) interdenominational laymen's movements, (b) voluntary organizations of Sunday-school teachers, (c) non-sectarian ministerial associations, (d) the independent religious press?

What all the nations now need is a public opinion which shall in every nation give more constant thought and keener attention to international policy and lift it to a higher plane.¹⁹

The only permanent forces are moral forces. Permanent things will be accomplished when the opinion of mankind is brought to bear upon the issues.²⁰

Most of the resistance to unity comes from those holding offices, from secretaries of societies and men employed in educational publication and other activities of the Church. The great movement toward church unity must come from intelligent and determined laymen. The thirty million people who worship God in the churches of this country must determine that matters of Church government shall not separate them.²¹

11 Do you believe that proportional representation, initiative, referendum, or recall can ever be adapted to church government? "How can democratic control of the sources and agencies of public opinion be secured? How can people best

¹⁹ Viscount Bryce.

²⁰ Woodrow Wilson.

be organized into groups for the popular control of government? How can elections be made to register most accurately popular opinion? How can popular control be most effectively maintained within the organs of government themselves? Does direct legislation secure more or less popular control of government"?

Formulate a plan to render public opinion more effective in your denomination.

12 What was the effect of the Great War upon the spread of political democracy? What are the recent tendencies with respect to democracy in the Church? Do you believe that the introduction of the principles of democracy into church government is either possible or desirable? Upon what reforms is it contingent? What do you regard as the most fundamental measures which should be taken to make democracy safe for the Church?

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²¹ McComb, *Psychology of Sects*, p. 69.

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CHAPTER XI

CHURCH AND STATE

I INTERCHURCH GOVERNMENT RELATED TO CIVIL GOVERNMENT

The attitude of the churches toward the state has an important bearing on the problem of Christian union. This is a question upon which Catholics, Anglicans, Lutherans, and Evangelical Protestants must come to some agreement before union rapprochements can be most successful. The greatest obstacle to Christian union in England and Scotland, for example, is the favored position of the Established Church. The two most difficult questions which most divide the churches as churches are those of spiritual freedom and the national recognition of religion. The United Free Church of Scotland holds unchangeably to the proposition that "it is absolutely fundamental that the Church is bound to obey in all things the will of her Divine Head, and has no power to fetter herself in matters spiritual, or be dependent on any external authority." This is its irreconcilable challenge to the Established Church. In many other countries the fullest measure of Christian freedom and Christian union waits on disestablishment.

Political and spiritual freedom cannot be dis-

associated. Forms of doctrine determine forms of the state. "Half the wars of Europe, half the internal troubles that have vexed European states, from the Monophysite controversies in the Roman Empire of the fifth century down to the Kulturkampf in the German Empire of the nineteenth, have arisen from theological differences or from the rival claims of Church and State."¹ There are theories as to the nature of Church and state and their relations, advocated at the present time by the Catholic Church and by certain Protestant sects, which if put into actual practice would bring about a twentieth-century recurrence of this age-long conflict.

2 THE IDEAL STATE

Conceptions as to the nature of Church and state will influence ideas as to their relations. The idealist regards the state as society organized for the conservation and creation of moral values. The idealist's state differs from the materialist's state in the conception of society and the nature of values. The idealist regards man as a rational and moral being capable of progressively realizing in human society a system of absolute ideals and values. The materialist tries to build his state out of the natural instincts and impulses only, and hence must regard all truth and values as merely relative to immediate human interests, all social organization as a temporal and changing union of convenience. Recognizing the relative place of natural

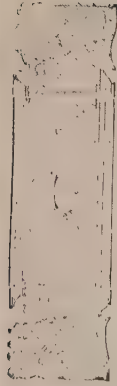
¹ Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, Vol. 2, p. 763.

forces, the idealist regards persons as primarily spiritual units in a society governed more and more in harmony with unchanging moral laws. Conceding to the naturalist that "the state begins with the bare ends of existence," in the words of Aristotle, the idealist believes that the state "persists for the sake of the good life, for the pursuit of perfection, for noble actions, not mere companionship." Political society is regarded as providing the material conditions, the technique, forms, and relationships necessary for the attainment of individual and social perfection. The state is the union of the rational wills of numerous men in the coöperative effort to realize the highest ethical good of all. "The ground of political obligation," says T. H. Green, "lies in the fact that it is necessary to the fulfilment of man's vocation as a moral being, to an effectual self-devotion to the work of developing the perfect character in himself and others."

Both idealist and naturalist have used the analogy of the organism in describing the nature and functions of the state. Spencer reëdited Plato's description to accord with modern industrial conditions and with current biological theories. St. Paul endeavored to reform the Church in harmony with the demands of a spiritual body in which all the members coöperated in the spirit of Christ. Spencer's analogy may be said to be based upon the carnal man, St. Paul's upon the spiritual or religious man. This theological idealism of St. Paul is reflected in the writings of Augustine, Calvin, and the Puritan pamphleteers of the English

Reformation. Milton's conception, for example, of the state "as one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth or stature of an honest man," gives us an analogy based upon the moral man and not upon the natural man only. The force of such analogies as these lies in the fact that the state is regarded as a system of organic relationships. No facts of political experience are to be left lying around loose, unaccounted for in a coherent rational explanation of the whole. The materialist organizes his system on the basis of natural law, and endeavors to explain all political relations as mathematical corollaries of physical processes. The rationalist, on the other hand, is interested in the logical arrangement of ideas, and his state must be built in harmony with a total coherently integrated system of ideas known as the Absolute. As the naturalist describes his state by the analogy of the body, so the rationalist describes his state according to the analogy of the mind of man. The personal idealist believes that not only economic and intellectual goods but all of the values of life should be included in this organic system. If the analogy of the organism is to be used at all, it must be based upon the whole-minded, whole-souled man, and so include not only instinctive and rational, but also the moral and spiritual qualities as well.

As the individual grows in character, so the state also progresses toward perfection. The state does this by the conscious effort on the part of its leaders to increase the individual powers and harmonious co-



OF THE LAWES of Ecclesiasticall Politie.

Eyght Bookes.

By *Richard Hooker*.



Printed at London by Iohn Winder, dwelling at the signe of the
Crosse keyes neere Pauls Church, and next to the
the foule

What things are handled in the *Bookes* following.

The *first* Booke, concerning lawes in generall.

The *second*, of the vse of diuine lawe contained in scripture, whether that be the onely lawe vvhich ought to serue for our direction in all things without exception.

The *third*, of lawes concerning Ecclesiasticall Politie, whether the forme thereof be in scripture so set downe, that no addition or change is lawfull.

The *fourth*, of generall exceptions taken against the lawes of our politie as being popish and banished out of certaine reformed Churches.

The *fifth*, of our lawes that concerne the publike religious duties of the Church, and the maner of bestowing that power of order vvhich inableth men in sundrie degrees and callings to execute the same.

The *sixth*, of the power of iurisdiction, vvhich the reformed platforme carymeth vnto layholders, vvhich officers.

The *seuenth*, of the powver of iurisdiction, and the honor vvhich is annexed thereunto in Bythops.

The *eyght*, of the powver of ecclesiasticall dominion or supreme authoritie vvhich vvvith vs the highest gouernour or Prince hath as well in regard of domesticall iurisdiccions, as of that other forreinlie claimed by the Byshop of Rome.

PLATE XI. HOOKER, LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY

This work is a monument of literary style, in the formative period of English prose, besides being one of the most important contributions to the subject of Church government in the language. Hooker's conception of the origin of the State resembles the social compact theory of more recent times. The Church he held to be simply the English State, looked at from the religious point of view. He defends the Established Church system, with all its ceremonials; but he does this with singular moderation, and he invariably accords courteous treatment to his opponents. Hooker firmly believed in the divine institution of episcopacy, but, with a largeness of view and a genuineness of sympathy for those who held a different view, he proceeded to a profound discussion of the origin of authority and the nature of law. It is near the end of the first book that he writes these famous and immortal words: "Of law nothing less can be said than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world." Men like Hooker belong to all ages and all parties.—Moncrief. *History of the Christian Church.*

Hooker was a champion in England of the doctrine, *cuius regis, eius religionis*. Hooker's work is based upon two unsound principles. He adopted the precedent of Jewish theocracy and urged the formation of a church "after the pattern of God's own ancient elect people." . . . Secondly he proceeded on the assumption of the union of Church and state. "Seeing that there is not a man of the Church of England but the same man is also a member of the Commonwealth; nor any man a member of the Commonwealth which is not also of the Church of England" . . . he would refer for his examples not to the primitive Church but to the time when "whole Rome became Christian, when they embraced the Gospel and made laws in defense thereof."

operation of its members. The purpose of the state is to help souls grow. As souls are to be perfect, even as the Father in heaven is perfect, so also the state as a community of souls approaches the perfection of the Kingdom of God as its goal. Political progress is measured by the extent to which the ideals of this Kingdom are realized on earth.

3 EARLY THEORIES OF CHURCH-STATE RELATIONSHIPS

The social ideal of Christianity is a spiritual society of men united by common devotion to the will of God. The Kingdom is pictured as a spiritual realm into which men may enter, and as a spiritual ideal which enters into men. Its laws are moral principles, such as love, forgiveness, righteous motives, self-denial, and vicarious sacrifice. The Kingdom is not governed by legal requirements but by personal loyalties. Through devotion to Christ, persons, society, laws, are to become ethical as He is sinless. As Christ's principles gain preëminence in the lives of men, the Kingdom will come on earth as in Heaven.

"Viewed as to its source and central principle, the Kingdom is the realized moral rule of God; viewed as to the relations of its subjects, it is an ideal society. Regarded as the domain where a divine and heavenly régime obtains, it can be described as a province or sphere that is to be entered. As already inaugurated and in process of development the Kingdom is here

and now; as awaiting a great consummating stage it is yet to come." ² "And the ideal that Christianity gives to the world is this: individual souls all harmony, through the ascendancy of love, families bound together and glorified by the passion of love, human society, its strife eliminated, brought into brotherhood by the sovereignty of love, the Universe itself one throughout because of this principle of moral gravitation." ³

The Christian communities of the Apostolic Age looked back to an ideal of human relationships presented by Jesus in His practices and teachings. Love of God and love of neighbor were His fundamental commands. These laws of love were to be obeyed and applied according to the individual's own judgment even though they should cut through established civil codes or religious traditions. His practice and example showed a profound respect for the possibilities of human nature even in sinners and outcasts, and an ideal of social relations in the fellowship of His disciples, which turned a group of ambitious schemers into a brotherhood of service. Though denouncing political and ecclesiastical leaders as sly foxes and hypocrites, He taught that the new day was to come in not by revolution but by a gradual development which should recognize the rights of Church and state while it transformed their spirit. This transformation was to proceed not from top to bottom, but from the lowest to the highest. All the heavy laden were to receive rest;

² Sheldon, *New Testament Theology*, p. 75.

³ The Rev. George A. Gordon, *Things That Abide*.

the good news was to be preached and taught to every creature.

The command to "render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's and to God the things which are God's" was radically revolutionary. It indicates a separation of powers and duties between the state and the Kingdom of God. Which duties are to be rendered to God and which to the state is seemingly made, by Christ's dictum, a matter of private judgment. At any rate such a division of tributes indicates that Cæsar is no longer to be regarded as a god. This was treason. For this reason Christ was crucified as one who "speaketh against Cæsar."

The fundamental precepts of Jesus gave birth to two ideas which were to have a profound political effect; namely, the infinite value of the human soul, and the brotherhood of man. The first of these ideas emphasizes individual salvation, perfection, liberty, and rights; the second emphasizes social welfare, co-operation, authority, and duties. These two aspects of Christ's teaching have been alternately prominent in influencing opinion and action as to the relations between Church and state.

As to Christ's attitude toward the Church, Professor Hobhouse presents arguments sufficient to justify the following conclusions:

(1) Christ intended to found a visible Divine Society upon earth to perpetuate His work; and this intention was primary, not subsidiary.

(2) This Divine Society He represented as being separate from, and in some sense antagonistic to, the

world; and membership in it must involve sacrifice.⁴

The reconciliation of authority with liberty was one of the first problems of early Christian leaders. To draw the line between the things which are Cæsar's and the things which are the Lord's, to establish the relations which should exist between the invisible Kingdom and the visible empire, was not an easy task. The experience and training of leaders modified their interpretations. In the early Judaic communities, where the Messianic hope was dominant, civil authority was lightly set aside. Among Palestinian Christians there was latent hostility to Rome. Hopes were high that social salvation was to be quickly attained by a revolutionary overturning of the empire. The Apocalypse of St. John is said to reflect this attitude in the cries of "Hallelujah!" which greet the fall of Babylon the Great.⁵ The party of the Zealots, whose methods Jesus repudiated, met defeat, in their enthusiastic championing of individual liberty, at the destruction of Jerusalem. Certain historians are inclined to favor the belief that zealous Christians, in defense of individual rights, actually did set fire to Rome, as was charged at the time, and thus intensified persecutions. Abuses of the doctrine of liberty in some of the early churches made necessary the admonitory epistles of St. Paul.

St. Paul, having been rescued from persecution at the hands of the Jews by the Roman soldiery, was inclined to be more sympathetic with authority. He

⁴ Hobhouse, *The Church and the World in Idea and in History*.

⁵ Revelation 18:2 and 19:6.

was proud of his Roman citizenship, which more than once saved his life for further missionary endeavors. The empire, he was inclined to think, could be a power for holding anti-Christian persecutions in check; the state should be regarded as a divine instrument of order and justice. Freedom was his chief concern: "For freedom did Christ set us free"; brethren are called to freedom; "owe no man anything save to love one another, for he that loveth his neighbor hath fulfilled the law"; "the Jerusalem that is above is free, which is our mother." Yet this was not a freedom to be attained by lawlessness but only by obedience to civil authority, whose ministers were also to be agents of the divine law of the invisible kingdom of love and righteousness. Paul was striving for a philosophy which would embrace the just demands of both liberty and authority, both individual and social welfare, difficult as it was to state and apply in his turbulent times.⁶

The principles of equality, liberty, and private judgment, which were at first so stoutly upheld by the patristic writers, were later forced to give way before the authoritative jurisdiction of an imperial Church.

There are many reasons why this early individualism gave place to the claims of authority. The preservation of the integrity of the Church in the midst of controversies with Gnostics, Arians, Montanists, Manichæans, and Donatists, etc., made necessary stronger organization over wider areas. Even as

⁶ For Paul on liberty and authority, see Romans 13:1-7, 14:1-13, 15:1; II Thessalonians, 2:1-12; Galatians 5:13; I Corinthians 8:9, 10:23-32; Ephesians 2:19; Philippians 3:20.

early as St. Paul's time questions of relative rank had arisen; and the letters of Irenæus reveal the ascendancy of bishops over presbyters in the larger cities. The rapid spread of Christianity and the need of union in the face of a common enemy likewise promoted centralization. "The fires of persecution had much to do with hardening and shaping, as into a point of tempered steel, that marvelous episcopal organization which was one day to penetrate the world."⁷ The spread of heresies strengthened the episcopal party. The arguments of Tertullian *On the Prescriptions of the Heretics* were clarified and emphasized by Cyprian in his tract *On the Unity of the Church*, in which occurs the famous phrase, "He can no longer have God for a Father who has not the Church for a mother." The mind of the Roman Christian was not alien to authority; in fact he regarded the empire as firmly established in natural if not in divine law. Christian apologists professed their loyalty to those in authority and recognized the empire as an ordinance of God.⁸ They refer to the simultaneous birth of the empire and Christianity, and urge coöperation in securing civil peace. Christians are said to unite the empire as the soul holds the body together.⁹ After the recognition of Christianity this coöperation with authority took the form of an appeal to the arm of the law to suppress heresy. All the earlier utterances in behalf of private judgment were now forgotten in the necessity of pre-

⁷ Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, Vol. 2, p. 569.

⁸ Tertullian, *Apologeticus*.

⁹ Justin, *Apology*, 1:12; *Epistle to Diognetus*, Chap. 6.

serving the appearance of unity in the Church. Cyprian first forcibly stated the arguments, but it was left for Augustine to apply them in his controversy with the Donatists. Augustine it was who first applied the phrase of the parable, "Compel them to come in," to the heretics; using the sophistic argument that they must be forced to believe in their own interest because "outside the Church is no salvation." "We must not consider that one is *compelled*," said he, "but *what* it is to which he is compelled." The result of this first persecution by the Church was so to weaken and divide northern Africa as to make it an easy prey to Vandal invasions. If the state had been an aid to the Church in suppressing heretical enemies from within, the Church was now able to repay its debt by dealing with barbarian invaders from without. The inroads of Huns, Goths, and Vandals made some supreme authority absolutely necessary. To have preached liberty, individualism, in this situation would have been adding anarchy to chaos. The success of the Church in dealing with these barbarian marauders soon led all nations to look to this institution as the only authority which could preserve peace and promote the general welfare of all.

Throughout the Middle Ages this authority did promote the common welfare. So beneficent were its effects that it came to be regarded as of divine origin.

Thomas Aquinas presented the authority of the Church as in contrast with the authority of nations as the divine laws are greater than human laws. Divine laws were to be declared by the pope, and the

sphere of human laws was so restricted that kings and princes were little more than officers of the ecclesiastical police department. The pope further reserved the right to encourage the people to revolt against national sovereigns. His superior position in this respect was again defended by St. Thomas: "If any people has the right to provide a ruler for itself it will not be acting unjustly if it strip him of his authority or place a check on his power when he abuses it tyrannically. Nor should such a people be thought unfaithful in deposing the tyrant even though it should previously have subjected itself to him forever. For inasmuch as he carries on the government of the people without the fidelity which his office requires, he himself deserves that the pact should not be kept by his subjects."¹⁰ Right to rebel against kings but not against popes was a scholastic subtlety which progressively failed to penetrate the dull brains of provincial peasants.

Without attempting a strictly chronological development, certain historical theories as to church-state relationships should be mentioned because of their practical bearing upon present-day solutions of this problem. Among these are the doctrines of theological idealism, territorialism, and collegialism.

4 THEOLOGICAL IDEALISM

The attitude of the theological idealist toward the state is that the state is the agency through which

¹⁰ *De Regimine Principum*, Book I, Chap. 6.

God obtains the realization of his beneficent divine purposes. The sovereignty of God is all-important. Ethical ideals, the foundation of the state, are real as the will of God. The function of the state is to accomplish the will of God, and hence it must be divinely ordained, and placed in harmony with God's purposes. In the preface of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* addressed to the King of France, Calvin says: "This consideration constitutes true royalty, to acknowledge yourself in the government of your kingdom to be the minister of God. For where the glory of God is not made the end of government, it is not a legitimate sovereignty, but an usurpation."

To enable men to glorify God and to enjoy him forever is the purpose of the state. In the theological ideal of the state not only God's sovereignty but his ever-present providential care were emphasized. All events whatever are to be seen as the work of a divine hand. This might be described as the doctrine of occasionalism applied to statecraft. The voter could not cast his ballot unless God moved his muscles, nor without the help of God could he even think about the issues if he should ever will to do so. Kings are hurled from their thrones by the "Supreme Director of this great drama." The state is God's; its goal is His; men are the instruments of His purposes. Bishop Bossuet expresses this conception of the overruling powers of Providence: "Remember that this long sequence of particular causes which makes and unmakes empires depends on the secret orders of Di-

vine Providence. Let us speak no longer of chance nor of fortune, or at least only as a name by which to cover our ignorance. What is chance according to our uncertain outlook is a design worked out in a higher council, that is, in the eternal wisdom which includes every cause and every effect in the same order."¹¹ The great American theologian, Jonathan Edwards, picturesquely describes the work of Providence as being likened unto the flowing of a river with all its tributaries from its source, or unto the chariot-wheels of the Lord's chariot as He goes on His "appointed journey." "The whole universe is a machine which God has made for His own use for Him to ride in. The inferior parts of the creation, this visible universe subject to such continual changes and revolutions, are the wheels of the chariot, under the place of the seat of Him who rides in this chariot. God's providence in the constant revolutions, and alternations, and successive events, is represented by the wheels of the chariot." And these "wheels of Providence are not turned about by blind chance but they are full of eyes round about, and they are guided by the Spirit of God. Where the spirit goes, they go."

In theological idealism God's will and God's providence issue in God's Kingdom, but this Kingdom is often viewed as antithetically opposed to the state. This view that the kingdom of God could never be "of this world" had its origin in the Oriental conceptions of the eternal warfare between the powers of light and the powers of darkness. Through Neo-

¹¹ *Discourse on Universal History*, Part 3, Chap. 8.

platonists and Gnostics and Manichæans and Ebionites this other-worldly conception attached itself to the views of the Kingdom as stated by the church fathers. Jesus' dictum to render unto God and Cæsar their respective tributes was so interpreted as to place the Kingdom and the state in absolute opposition. Christians could see no possible good, no hope for reform in the Roman Empire. Consequently in entire contrast to that imperial kingdom of evil they pictured a kingdom of light up in the skies somewhere. Augustine's *City of God* figuratively presents the eternal battle of these dual forces of good and evil. Thus it comes about that in some forms of theological idealism there is an ethical and metaphysical dualism between body and soul, flesh and spirit, Christianity and statecraft.

There are numerous admirable and indispensable elements in a theory of the state contributed by theological idealism. These may be briefly summarized.

a Theological idealism recognizes the primacy of ethical ideals and the foundation of these ideals in religion, that is in the will of God. It recognizes that citizens must be governed by conscience, not custom; that morality cannot be forced; that legal processes are only regulative, not generative as are the religious forces.

b It recognizes the transcendental or supernatural element in the formation and progress of political society. Those are mere pagan Utopias which are dependent upon human ingenuity and natural forces only. Statesmen must recognize the divine purpose and goal

of organized government; citizens must accept their political obligations as a prophetic responsibility. A statesman, it has been said, must find out where God is going, then go in that direction. Faith in God's providential care of individuals as well as of society as a whole is necessary to the stability of free governments. In spite of human fallibility God still overrules his universe in such a way that all things work together for good.

c It recognizes the Kingdom of God as embodying the invisible ideal, the pattern, entelechy, or final cause of the state. It finds the moral ideal of the state in the character of God. God's purpose, and not mere chance or blind natural force, explains the historical order of political development. Said that philosophical mystic Jonathan Edwards, the end of God's "appointed journey" is the spiritual salvation of his people or the "manifestation of his internal glory to created understandings."

The essentials of theological idealism have often been overcast by a misinterpretation of its separate elements. Such a misinterpretation results in a pervasive application of the theory to practice; for example:

a When the invisible ideal is regarded as already embodied in some existing form of political organization as the Roman Church or the French monarchy, or when God is said to reveal Himself only through the political leaders of these divine institutions as an infallible pope or a divinely appointed monarch. This was Bishop Bossuet's contention in his *Universal*

HUGONIS GROTH

V. C.

D E

I M P E R I O

SVMMARVM POTESTATVM

CIRCA SACRA.

Commentarius Posthumus.



L V T E T I Æ

P A R I S I O R V M.

Anno Domini M. DC. XLVII.

PLATE XII (a)

GROTH'S DE IMPERIO SUMMARVM POTESTATVM
CIRCA SACRA (See text page 290.)

SAMVFI IS LIB. BAR.
DE PVFENDORFF
JVS FECIALE
DIVINVM
SIVE
DE
CONSENSV
ET
DISSENSV
PROTESTANTIVM
EXERCITATIO POSTHVMA,
INDICE LOCVPLETISS. AVCTA.



FRANCOVRTI ET LIPSÆ,
APVD JOH. BERNHARD HARTVNG.
MDCCXVI. 167.

PLATE XII (b)

PUFENDORF'S DE CONSENSU ET DISSENSU PROTESTANTIVM (See text, page 293.)

History, and it resembles Hegel's conception of the Absolute realizing itself in the development of the Germanic state. Calvin's government at Geneva has often been criticized as being this type of autocratic theocracy. Such criticism reveals a misconception of Calvin's political philosophy. Supreme as the moral law or the will of God was above public opinion or custom, Calvin nevertheless bases his theocracy expressly upon the rule of God in the hearts, consciences, spiritual sympathies, and moral judgments of all individual citizens; and he did not identify God's Kingdom with any existing form of government. On the other hand he contended that "the form of the state is not always visible and apparent, but that it may exist without visible form." The true state "is not contained in any external splendor, but exists where the righteousness of God is practised." ¹²

b It is a misinterpretation when the visible and invisible "kingdoms" are regarded as irreconcilably opposed. Such a misconception can only lead to the doctrine that all states are forever evil and must be overthrown either in revolution or in some miraculous catastrophic flame of divine anger. The invisible ideal should be regarded as the ever-present, immanent, energizing motive of the empirical state. Transcendental and empirical aspects of the theological theory of the state are not mutually hostile, but as reciprocally necessary as hypothesis and data, logi-

¹² On the other hand, Calvin admits in his letters that he was forced to permit many practices not in harmony with his highest ideals, on the ground of political expediency.

cal deduction and induction, spiritual character or insight and prosaic every-day duties. The empirical state should be regarded as providing the material, the stage and properties upon which the divine drama can be played out, and the divine purposes realized.

5 TERRITORIALISM

The brilliant struggle for religious freedom in Holland was marked by great deeds rather than by many words. Yet the times produced scholars here who united both religious and political insight. Secular leaders adopted reformation principles for the sake of intellectual progress as well as political advantages. Their motto was, "From truth to liberty and from liberty to truth." Two scholars who unite political and religious interests are Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) and Samuel Pufendorf (1632-1694). They present careers of unusual similarity. Each wrote on both politics and theology. Grotius was a Calvinist, Pufendorf a Lutheran. Both practised law at the Hague. Both were imprisoned as a result of religious wars. They were both forced to leave the country as a result of political intrigue, and both were engaged in the Swedish diplomatic service.

Grotius contributed a unique theory of the atonement and defended the truths of the Christian religion. In the matter of church government he advocated the practice of state control. This theory, which was known as "territorialism," may be summed up as follows:

(1) Citizens are partners in all social relations. The original social contract includes ecclesiastical as well as civil relations.

(2) Hence the territorial limits of the church association and the state association should be the same.

(3) The state creates associations. All powers of association are derived directly from the state, only indirectly from the people.

(4) Hence the extent of the state's right in sacred things is so great as to leave scarcely any room for free play of partnership.

Grotius is best known, however, for his work on the law of nations, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*. He appealed to scholars and philosophers by referring to the law of nature, to divines and priests by the precepts of religion, and to practical men by adopted customs and implied agreement. He used both the inductive and deductive method, holding that both the study of concrete cases and *a priori* ethical principles were necessary to establish a law. Through his influence the precepts of Christian morality came to prevail in the customs and precedents of national courts. Grotius was the great popularizer of the idea of a law of nations. Thus a theologian has become known as the father of international law.

✱ Territorialism was a theory which seemed to find practical justification in the period immediately succeeding the Protestant Reformation. In those countries in which nationalism and Protestantism found themselves united in opposition to the Catholic Church and the Roman Empire, a union of political and re-

ligious forces seemed a necessary step. It was nearly two centuries before the spirit of religious toleration made possible the separation of Church and state. Even to-day the doctrine of territorialism finds stanch defenders among Episcopalians, Lutherans, and Presbyterians.

[I]n theological works this theory is spoken of as Erastianism; though there is some doubt as to just what Erastus himself did believe,¹³ the eighteenth-century Erastians held that the state should provide religion like education or sanitation as an element in the good life.] In philosophy this theory could be justified both by absolute idealism and by positivism. In practice it approaches the Hegelian doctrine of the absorption of the Church in the state. The humanist reaches practically the same conclusion. Believing that religion has no unique value, but is ultimately to be absorbed in secular activities, he seeks to organize his "church" on the basis of the average ethical level of local communities or national territories. National control of religion thus appeals to all who would place coöperative endeavors upon a low, rather than a high moral level.

[I]n countries having a national church, the state is in a position to "dictate their doctrines to churches; and in England at least it was a state tribunal which,

¹³ For this reason the term "territorialism" rather than "Erastianism" is used to indicate the theory of the control of the spiritual society by the civil. "Erastus," says Hobhouse, "was less Erastian than many who are supposed to owe their views to his influence." (*The Church and the World*, p. 394.) And Figgis says, "He was, I believe, less Erastian than Whitgift, perhaps less so than Cranmer, far less so than Selden or Hobbes." (*From Gerson to Grotius*, p. 95.)

as Lord Westbury said, dismissed hell with costs.”¹⁴ History and experience show that a national establishment can produce only evil effects in both Church and state. It encourages a Machiavellian attitude toward religion. Henry IV, for example, said “Paris is worth a Mass.”

If the Church is viewed merely as a function of the nation; if churchmanship is merely an aspect of citizenship; if the practical control of the Church is in the hands of a Walpole or a George the Second, or of their congenial nominees upon the Episcopal bench; if the interpretation of her laws is confided to the acumen of secular lawyers,—is it not natural that the prevalent ideals of the Church under such conditions should be legalism, respectability, material comfort, rather than enthusiasm, self-sacrifice and holiness? You cannot thus subject the spiritual society to the secular without depressing its ideals and robbing it of its motive power.¹⁵

6 COLLEGIALISM

Pufendorf built on the theories of Grotius, rejected the theories of Hobbes, and influenced the theories of Rousseau. In his *De Jure Naturæ et Gentium* he adopts the method of Grotius, but he finds the fundamental sources of the law to be not only reason and civil practices but also divine revelation. The state of nature, he holds, was one not of war but of peace. He advocated the idealistic conception that the state is a moral person; the will of the state is but the sum

¹⁴ Laski, *Foundations of Sovereignty*, p. 235.

¹⁵ Hobhouse, *The Church and the World*, p. 257.

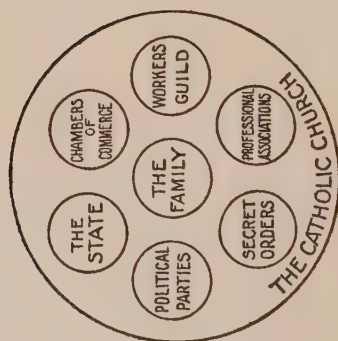


Fig. 1 Divine Right of Christ's Vicar to Supreme Authority

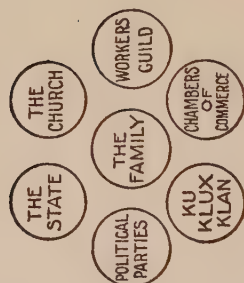


Fig. 2 Pluralistic View of Many Competing Authorities Competing for Supremacy.

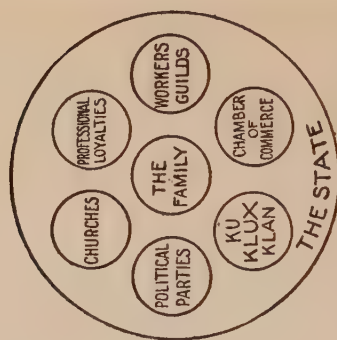


Fig. 3 Collegialism: The State Supreme Authority and Judge over Many Subordinate Authorities

of the wills that constitute it, and this association explains the state. International law is not restricted to Christendom but constitutes a common bond among all nations, for all nations are a part of humanity. His conception of the relations between the civil and religious powers is set forth in *De Habitu Religionis Christianæ ad vitam Civilem*. He was the first to state the *collegial* theory of church government.

The precepts of *collegialism* are as follows:

(1) The Church is not an infallible institution but a *collegium* which has grown by social compact. It is a voluntary, self-governing association having only two equal classes, teachers and hearers.

(2) Rights and authority of all associations in the state are derived directly from the people and not from the state. Several such associations may exist side by side in the state on a perfectly equal footing.

(3) The state has the same power over the Church as over any other association existing in the state, that is, surveillance; so that the power of association is guaranteed as a real and relatively independent government, subject to the supreme authority of the state.

(4) The power of the state (*jura circa sacra*) should be restricted and sharply distinguished from the rights of the Church (*jura in sacra*). The duty of the state is to promote the moral welfare and material prosperity of its subjects; the duty of the Church, to promote the spiritual welfare of men in the state.

(5) The Church as an association is subject to the

state; but religion is a matter of public interest and should be so recognized.

Both Pufendorf and Rousseau were indebted to earlier writers, notably Johannes Althusius (1557-1638). The Leagues of Commercial Cities and the Merchants' and Craftsmen's Guilds gave rise to theorists who sought to explain and justify these phenomena. The work of Althusius was inspired by the formation of the United Provinces and their heroic struggle with Spain. He sought to show the defects of the imperial state as represented by Philip II, and to defend the right of resistance on the part of the people from whom all rights proceed. Authority in the state belongs to those associations, guilds, or small local groups to which the people have chosen to delegate it. Instead of one center of authority, there are many centers of authority. These small groups may combine into a federation, but the chief authority still remains with the small groups. Though Althusius does say that combinations of workmen are in the same class as monopolies and ought to be regulated by the political federation, his general emphasis is toward the restriction of the power of central authorities. His theory of group authority would produce a loose confederation, not a strongly centralized federal government. In this he differs from Pufendorf, who held that the state was the primary, fundamental, and all-inclusive social bond, and that all other associations were subject to its supreme authority. It is a question of the relative emphasis to be given to unity and plurality in the state. Althusius wrote at

a time when monism meant autocracy and pluralism meant democracy. He rightly emphasized the pluralistic forces. His theory of federation was influential in guiding the founders of the American Republic. The first weak Confederation failed, however, and a more strongly centralized federal republic was formed. In this connection it is interesting to note that Pufendorf's works are found in the library of John Adams, a member of the Constitutional Convention and one of the outstanding leaders of the early Federalist party.

Althusius has become the patron saint of modern advocates of the pluralistic state. The modern pluralist will have nothing to do with Pufendorf's favorable acceptance of divine revelation. He rejects all transcendental issues. Modern pluralism is "experimentalist in temper." The pluralist does not attempt to look behind the phenomenal. He is a positivist and would build a realistic state on the basis of materialistic naturalism. He assumes, in the words of Laski, a leading proponent of this theory, that all men "will treat the unseen as non-existent" and "surrender his powers into the hands of any interest forceful enough to command his attention." Like the Marxian socialist, the pluralist sees in the state nothing but a gigantic evolutionary class conflict with no solution save the "survival of the fittest," with biological rather than moral categories as a standard of judgment. The pluralistic state is built on biological impulses. It adopts a sociology based upon instincts and interests rather than upon ideals and purposeful

moral aspirations. For Laski the modern state is a "complex of interests between which there is no necessary or even predominant harmony. . . . The social interests which are translated into rights are almost always the rights of a limited group of men. . . . The political philosopher is concerned with the balance of interests. . . . Nothing has led us further on the wrong path than the simple teleological terms in which Aristotle stated his conclusions."¹⁶ There seems to be about as much fundamental difference between this theory and that of Hobbes as there is between the Russian Soviet and Leviathan.

Both idealist and realist must recognize the pluralistic aspects of government. But it is the attempt to build the pluralistic state on a materialistic basis that is the defect of Laski's theory. He is right that without some authority which transcends that found within limited groups there can be "no necessary or even predominant harmony" between them. The idealist contends that there is such a supreme authority above all individuals and all groups, and that it is moral and spiritual in nature. Just as two physical atoms could not interact unless there were some common laws relating them and governing them as by a superior authority, so individuals and groups of individuals deal with one another in business and in the state through the medium of moral laws found in the nature of men and of the universe as primarily teleological and spiritual. The pluralist asserts that all authority

¹⁶ Laski, *Foundations of Sovereignty*.

rests with the individual to delegate where he pleases. The idealist holds that finite individuals are dependent creatures having only a limited freedom. The stars above and conscience within stand for natural and moral imperatives which human beings have no choice but to obey. It is because the state embodies universals, and represents these transcendental moral forces, that it can assert supreme authority. The state is greater than the associations within it as the universal is greater than the particular, as the whole truth is greater than partial truth, as the citizen is greater than the specialist. The state thus provides a field for the interaction of all groups, regulating their conflicts by a supreme authority, just as the individual is governed in his activities by the supreme authority of the moral law.

The pluralist, however, recognizes no such supreme authority. The state is simply one association among many. Its "acts are on a parity with the acts of any other association." Any of the associations are entitled to as much power as they can take by force from the people in the evolutionary struggle for survival between groups and classes.

Various motives have led to the adoption and promotion of this theory on the part of divergent groups. It is natural that it should be adopted by socialists, such as Cole and Webb, for it lends itself to the idea that "sovereignty is to be partitioned on the basis of function." Though antithetical to Catholic principles, it has been advocated by such writers as J. N. Figgis in

his *Churches in the Modern State*, and Ryan and Millar in their *Church and State*, for the obvious reason that any theory directed against the state is in harmony with Catholic interests. Bishop McConnell, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, speaks with approval of the pluralist's theory of federation.¹⁷ It has been pointed out that this theory allows very little power to central authorities, so that it would perhaps work out to the advantage of ambitious sectarians in federative relationships, but its application within the more centralized denominations would work havoc with episcopal authority. We take it that the bishop's interest in democracy would not lead him so far as to approve *in toto* a theory which rejects the fundamental "*Religious Certainty*" upon which all authority in government must be based, especially in view of his opinion that federal church government must ultimately be given supreme authority.¹⁸

A rabbinical interpretation of the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel pictured Yahweh as tired of uniformity, and as endeavoring to achieve the highest unity in the greatest diversity. Souls, by their nature, must grow in distinctive individuality. Men have many interests, and not one only; but pluralism lacks a unifying element. The inter-

¹⁷ "The democratic tendencies to-day move in the direction of federalism for the larger social masses: federalism as implied in Cole's *Self-Government in Industry* and as set forth in Laski's *Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty*." (McConnell, *Democratic Christianity*, p. 39.)

¹⁸ Cf. pp. 226-227.

relationships of many separate individuals and groups demand a common ground of inter-communion which the theory of the pluralist cannot supply.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1 What bearing has the problem of Church-state relationships upon the problem of interchurch relations?

2 Compare and contrast the idealistic and the realistic theories of the state.

3 In the materialistic or humanistic views what is the place of religious institutions in society?

4 In regard to the nature of the Church and its relation to the state, what was the opinion of Jesus?

5 Use the propositions stated by Professor Hobhouse (see page 279) as subjects of debate. Do you think there are sufficient arguments to justify these conclusions?

6 In regard to the nature of the Church and its relation to the state, what were the views of St. John? Of St. Paul? Of the early church fathers? Of St. Augustine? Of Thomas Aquinas?

7 As to the nature of the Church and its relation to the state, what was the Calvinistic and Puritan view? The Lutheran view? The Anglican view?

8 What is the position of theological idealism with regard to Church and state? Has it any commendable features? How is it misinterpreted and misapplied?

9 In brief what is the position of "territorialism"? How does it differ from "regionalism" as used in the text? Give arguments for and against the national control of religion.

10 What are the precepts of collegialism? Describe the different relations of the various *collegia* within the state as

viewed by the realist and by the idealist. What is meant by the "pluralistic state"? In the stricter type of collegialism, what is the relation of Church to the state? Give arguments for and against the parochial control of education.

REFERENCES

(See bibliography at close of Chapter XII, pages 362-365)

CHAPTER XII

CHURCH AND STATE (*Continued*)

I SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Complete separation of Church and state is as impossible as to separate the religious and political natures in man. The old scholastic division between temporal and spiritual, sacred and secular, is now seen to be largely artificial. As Dr. Charles R. Brown says: "The old artificial distinction between 'things sacred and things secular' has largely faded out, leaving only a clearer, firmer line between the things which are right and the things which are wrong. The great right things are all sacred, whether they are found in the church or in the school-room, in the market-place or in the polling-place." All this may be said without questioning the uniqueness of religious values. An ethical religion will have political effects, and civil life will be affected by the moral teachings of all religions except those "in which the objects of worship are conceived to be propitiated otherwise than by the performance of social duty."

But even if Church and state are not entirely separate in influence, the limits of their separate administration have been so sharply defined that we may in the United States at least speak of a free Church in

a free state. In the United States the theory which has prevailed in practice is that of the stricter type of collegialism, heretofore described, represented by Pufendorf. The state's rights are *circa sacra*, not *in sacra*; the sphere of the Church is *in sacra*, never *circa sacra*. In the words of Dr. Rinaldis, the Church can be independent only *in foro interno*, not *in foro externo*. The view of the pluralist, and likewise of the Jesuit, that the Church, state, guild, and other associations may be each a *societas perfecta* completely independent in its own sphere, has lost ground in the history of United States both in theory and in practice. The idealistic opinion has come largely to prevail that the state is to have supreme power over all associations within it as the sustainer and harmonizer of all social relations. In the words of T. H. Green, "The state is a society of societies in which all claims upon each other are mutually adjusted." Viscount Bryce states the matter concisely when he says, "The legal position of the Christian Church is in the United States simply that of a voluntary association, or groups of associations, corporate or unincorporate, *under the ordinary law of the state.*"

The rights of the Church as a voluntary association within the state are determined by its own peculiar nature. The Church is an agency for spiritualizing all the other activities within the state. Dealing as it does with the training and elevation of the moral life, its work can be carried on only in perfect freedom. This much is implied by the nature of the moral life and the necessity of free will for the development of

LA

LIBERA CHIESA

IN

LIBERO STATO

ESAME FILOSOFICO

DEI RAPPORTI CHE VIENE AD ASSUMERE LA CHIESA
IN FACCIA ALLO STATO
SECONDO I PRINCIPII DEL NUOVO DIRITTO PUBBLICO EUROPEO
E DOPO LA CADUTA DEL DOMINIO TEMPORALE

(Risposta all'Enciclica Pontificia dell'8 dicembre 1864)

per il Dottore

BARTOLOMEO DE RINALDIS



TORINO

STAMPERIA DELL'UNIONE TIP.-EDITRICE

1865

PLATE XIII. LIBERA CHIESA IN LIBERO SATO is a phrase which has come into current use since Cavour's famous enunciation of the principle at a critical period in history.

"Cavour believed that the Papacy would never develop its nobler energies as well as its hereditary wisdom in politics, until its roots were planted in the soil of liberty; that it would find its best support in the voluntary respect of the people, and that liberty of conscience, once recognized at Rome would be secured to mankind." (Geffcken, *Church and State*, p. 283.)

The Vatican, however, preferred the restrictions of the Papal Guarantees to the spiritual freedom which was promised in exchange for the surrender of all claims to temporal power. Dr. Rinaldis defends the principle of separation of church and state and repudiates on religious, historical, and philosophical grounds the idea that temporal sovereignty was necessary or even useful for upholding the dignity of the pope.

complete moral personality. Religion and morality cannot be forced. As Robert Browne said, "It is the conscience and not the power of man that will drive us to seeke the Lordes Kingdome." A "free Church within a free state" has therefore these arguments: liberty of conscience and civil equality. All citizens, whatever their religious belief, are entitled to equal treatment before the law. The Church undertakes to educate for moral freedom. State interference has in the past proved incompatible with this aim. True religion prospers best when given free scope of action. State control hinders the full and free expression and development of religion. The state must administer the laws to which it subjects the religious community with due regard to the nature of that community.

Recognizing religion as one of the most important elements in the welfare of society, the state makes provision to safeguard its rights and privileges. The state recognizes the right of the Church to exist, to correct and punish its own members, and to maintain its own church order and discipline. So long as there is no violation of the law, the Church has the right to conduct the internal government of its affairs without interference. The state is, however, concerned with the legal effects of church by-laws, and supervises the incorporation of religious societies. Further, the state may even grant certain privileges to the Church. The state may confer certain civil functions such as the validation of marriage contracts upon the Church. It may exempt the ministers of religion from compulsory civil functions, as jury duty or military service.

Of still greater importance, the state protects the Church in the right of religious assembly and in its property rights. The disturbance of religious meetings is a misdemeanor at law punishable by fine and imprisonment. Many states have enacted special statutes covering this offense. There are few if any statutes prohibiting disturbances of the assemblies of other associations or incorporations. Hence it is a greater enormity to disturb a religious gathering than any other because the right to assemble for religious purposes is guaranteed by the organic laws of the states.

The property rights of the Church are safeguarded under the ordinary law of trusts, the application of the law of charities, and the special laws relating to the tenure of church property.

The greatest difficulty in administering justice arises in the case of sectarian disputes as to the division or reallocation of church property. The court's duty is to see that land and funds are devoted to the purpose for which they were originally given. This is usually difficult because of lack of care of donors and benefactors in drawing up wills and deeds of gift to state the specific theological views which they wish promoted. In case money for church property has been raised by popular subscription, or the benefactor has made no specific theological or creedal provisions, the courts have usually decided that the present majority in a church quarrel has the right to retain and administer the property. The right of the state to investigate theological issues in order to determine justice in the administration of property is undisputed.

In order to decide important cases in England, Scotland, Canada, and the United States the courts have been forced to enter upon abstruse theological investigations, for the purpose not of deciding theological disputes but of settling strictly legal questions.

In return for the rights and privileges granted the Church, the state reserves the right to exercise over the Church the same power of regulation which it has over all other societies. The state supervises the professions of law and medicine, standardizing the granting of degrees and taking all precautions to prevent quackery. Banks, railroad companies, business incorporations of all kinds are regulated in their interrelations by the state for the benefit of society as a whole. In a similar way the state claims the right to regulate the external relations of ecclesiastical associations.

No church organization or creed can be made a cover for any act which by the laws of the state is an offense against public peace, good order, or good morals. It is not a valid interpretation of Federal or State Constitution when religious tolerance is taken to mean tolerance of immorality or practices inconsistent with the safety of the state.¹ It is commonly held that the state may control external acts but not interfere with the faith of believers or with the free discussion of moral, political or religious principles. According to this theory of external regulation, the state cannot prevent the individual members of the Mormon

¹ In a recent decision the U. S. Supreme Court took occasion to declare that the rights of free speech and assembly may be limited by law in cases where the abuse of these rights incites to crime, lowers public morals, or undermines The Constitution.

Church from believing in or advocating the practice of polygamy. But the federal laws of the United States do forbid and punish plural marriages, and no Mormon charged with bigamy could plead that his second marriage was ecclesiastically legal or sanctioned by his own religious convictions.

There are authorities, however, who would extend the sphere of the state even further. In view of the close psychological connection between ideas and actions, and especially between religious convictions and political actions, they hold that the state must not only be concerned with external acts but also with articles of faith. To give a religious sanction to theories which are not in harmony with the principles of democracy is held to be dangerous to the democratic state.

In the administration of property, for example, the relation of religious doctrines to democratic principles would become of great significance. With regard to this question Professor Sidgwick takes an advanced stand.

In the first place, Government may refuse to admit any religious society to the position of a corporation capable of holding and administering property, unless its organization fulfills certain conditions, framed with a view of preventing its "quasi-government" from being oppressive to individual members of the association or dangerous to the state. Secondly, government may take advantage of a collision to bring the funds of any such society permanently under its control, in pursuance of its general duty of supervising the management of wealth bequeathed to public objects, and revising the rules un-

der which it is administered in the interest of the community at large. Further, the bequest of funds to be permanently employed in payment of persons teaching particular doctrines, is liable to supply a dangerously strong inducement to the conscious or semiconscious perpetuation of exploded errors, which, without this support, would gradually disappear; hence it should be the duty of the government to watch such bequests with special care, and to intervene when necessary to obviate this danger, by modifying the rules under which ancient bequests are administered. (*Elements of Politics*, Chap. 28.)

An interesting illustration of this point of view in its practical application is the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in favor of the Russian Orthodox Greek Church in its controversy with the Living Church sponsored by the Soviet Government over the control of church property in America. In addition to the ordinary legal reasons for this decision, Justice Ford examines the theories of the Soviets, characterizing them as "a dictatorship," preaching "bloody revolution," carrying on "world-wide propaganda," "insidiously" garbing themselves "in the reverential vestments of a great church." And he continues, "The judiciary, oath-bound to support the Constitution, should not be behind the other departments of Government in curbing the activities and the power for harm of the enemies of our democracy wherever or however they may appear."

So far as the Church seeks not only to provide a satisfying expression of religious emotion but also to guide the behavior of men in their social and civic relations, it becomes to that extent a governmental in-

fluence. When religious belief is strong the Church becomes either a valuable ally to the state in furthering the ordinary performance of civic duty or a most formidable rival in the case of any conflict of jurisdiction between the spiritual and temporal powers. It is held that the state has a right to avoid this conflict, not by means of a state-controlled Church, but by the supervision of voluntary religious societies, in such a way as to provide religious sanctions for a positive civic morality, and to prohibit the religious sanction of doctrines which would undermine the authority of the state.

This theory of state intervention in matters of belief as applied by Justice Ford to the Soviets would have more serious opposition if applied as consistently to the Catholic Church. Such an application as a precautionary measure on the part of the state is advocated by Geffcken in his *Church and State*, as follows:

If the State on the one hand is to grant to all societies equal liberty and equal rights with strict justice, it nevertheless cannot shut its eyes when a religious community impugns the right of the State to independence and openly condemns the principles on which the civil constitution is based. In like manner the State in its dealings with religious bodies is bound to consider their internal organization, their worship, and their discipline. It makes a great difference to the State whether she has to deal with independent societies, democratically constituted, or with the Catholic Church, which recognizes a foreign potentate as her absolute head. A government which

should neglect to adopt measures of precaution in this respect would only expose itself to embarrassment and defeat.

The history and nature of the United States government will never permit the overthrow of the principle, "a free Church within a free state." It is true that religious toleration did not become general in the colonies until after the Revolutionary War. But the first amendment to the Constitution provides that Congress "shall make no law concerning the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Most of the colonies provided in their new state constitutions for the disestablishment of the Church and complete religious toleration. The Constitution of Delaware, for instance, says, "No power shall or ought to be vested in, or assumed by any magistrate that shall in any case interfere with, or in any manner control, the rights of conscience in the free exercise of religious worship."

Section III, Article IX, of the Constitution of Pennsylvania reads: "No human authority can in any case whatever control or interfere with, the rights of conscience."

These are fair samples of the constitutional provisions of most of the states to-day. Massachusetts did not arrive at disestablishment until 1833; and only as late as 1920, in the new state constitution then adopted, was it made illegal to expend public funds for ecclesiastical purposes. In one state at present only Protestants may hold office, and in several public

money may be voted to private religious or charitable associations. In 1910 the state of New York, for example, voted more than \$1,500,000 to the Roman Catholic schools and charities of that state. The most severe struggle with regard to the diversion of public funds to sectarian schools took place from 1825 to 1855. During that period most of the states made definite legal provisions against such a procedure. The tendency to-day is toward state supervision of all sectarian schools. (See Table VI page 322.)

Movements toward closer association of Church and state have always met with violent opposition in this country. In 1841 the Native American party was formed "to prevent the union of Church and state." In 1855 the Know-Nothing party, favoring public but opposed to parochial schools, carried the elections in six states. A recent proclamation from an anti-Catholic association in America reads: "We hold that no citizen is a true patriot who owes superior allegiance to any power above that of his obedience to the principles of the Constitution of the United States." This issue is bound to recur. It will not be settled until the Vatican accepts Cavour's principle, "*Libera Chiesa in libero Stato.*"

2 THE CATHOLIC VIEW

The essence of the Catholic position is the supremacy of the law of God as interpreted and administered by the Church. This view is still essentially the same as that set forth by Thomas Aquinas. According to

Aquinas all other types of law are merely elements in or aspects of the *lex Dei*. Eternal law lies concealed in the inscrutable wisdom of God, the revelation of which comes only through the Church. Divine law is revealed in the Holy Scriptures as interpreted by the Church. The divine law is composed of the *lex Mosis*, *lex Christi*, and *lex Ecclesiæ*. The law of God includes also natural and human laws. In the discovery of natural laws man may be guided by natural reason, but in matters of faith he must be subject to the ministers of the Church. Human laws are those civil and political arrangements which finite beings make for their own convenience and temporal welfare. It is the function of Christ's vicar to interpret the *lex Dei* and to indicate the relationships of natural, divine, and human laws. The line of demarcation between the spiritual and temporal affairs can be determined only by the pope. The Church is a perfect, all-embracing, and independent society reserving the right to determine the limits of its own sovereignty and the sovereignty of all other dependent associations or societies of men.

Catholics, who see in modern democracy the "menace of mediocrity," urge us to return to the days when Innocent III ruled Europe. Innocent III put forward unrestricted claims to rule over Church and state alike in such sentences as the following: "The Roman Pontiff is the vicar not of man but of God himself." "The Lord gave Peter the rule not only of the Universal Church but also of the whole world." "The Lord Jesus Christ has set up one ruler over all things

as His universal vicar, and as all things in heaven, earth and hell bow the knee to Christ, so should all obey Christ's vicar, that there be one flock and one shepherd." "No king can reign rightly unless he devoutly serve Christ's vicar." "Princes have power in earth; priests have also power in heaven. Princes reign over the body, priests over the soul. As much as the soul is worthier than the body, so much worthier is the priesthood than the monarchy." "The *Sacerdotium* is the sun, the *Regnum* the moon. Kings rule over their respective kingdoms, but Peter rules over the whole earth. The *Regnum* came by man's cunning, the *Sacerdotium* by divine creation."² Even with these imperial ideals the lofty program of reform undertaken by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) under Innocent's supervision contrasts favorably with the narrow bigotry, autocracy, and harsh repressive measures forced upon the Ecumenical Council of 1869 by Pope Pius IX.

This historic claim of the Catholic Church to temporal supremacy has never been relinquished by the Vatican. In relatively recent times Pope Gregory XVI in an encyclical letter (August 15, 1832) presents arguments against the following propositions which he characterizes as *sophisms*:

(1) "That no preference should be shown for any particular form of worship."

(2) "That it is right for individuals to form their own personal judgments about religion."

² Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy*, Chap. 14.

(3) That each man's conscience is his sole and all-sufficing guide."

(4) "That it is lawful for every man to publish his own views, whatever they may be, and even to conspire against the state."

On the question of the separation of Church and state the same pontiff writes as follows: "Now can We hope for happier results either for religion or for the civil government from the wishes of those who desire that the Church be separated from the state, and the concord between the secular and ecclesiastical authority be dissolved. It is clear that these men, who yearn for a shameless liberty, live in dread of an agreement which has always been fraught with good, and advantageous alike to sacred and civil interests."

In the controversies incident to the struggle for Italian independence opportunity occurred for the Vatican to relinquish all claim to temporal power in return for special privileges as a purely spiritual authority. Any one who reads the accounts of the Ecumenical Council convened under the autocratic domination of Pope Pius IX, which resulted in the declaration of papal infallibility, will be convinced of the uncompromising tenacity with which the Vatican maintains its claim to temporal power. Although the pope's course was opposed by a large liberal Catholic constituency, among whom were many prominent Catholic leaders from all countries, he threw down the gantlet to all liberals and defied alike all progressive forces in both Church and state.

Extracts from Syllabus of Pope Pius IX

The syllabus of Pope Pius IX is virtually a catalogue of heretical doctrines. In Article IV are condemned not only communism, socialism, and secret societies but also even Bible societies and all associations of clerical liberals. The main attack is directed against the doctrines which impugn the independent dominion of the Church as against the state, society, and learning.

Prop. 19: It is heresy to maintain that . . . the Church is not a true, perfect, and wholly independent society, possessing its own unchanging rights conferred upon it by its Divine Founder; but it is for the civil power to determine what are the rights of the Church, and the limits within which it may use them.

Prop. 24: It is heresy to maintain that the Church may not employ force nor exercise, directly or indirectly, any temporal power.

Prop. 27: Or that ministers of the Church and the Roman pontiff ought to be excluded from all care and dominion of things temporal.

Prop. 30: Or that the civil immunity of the Church and its ministers depends upon civil right.

Prop. 42: It is heretical to maintain that in the conflict of laws, civil and ecclesiastical, the civil should prevail.

Prop. 55: Or that the Church must be separated from the state, and the state from the Church.

Prop. 73: Or that marriage has a binding force if the sacrament be excluded.

Prop. 77: Or that any other religion than the Roman religion may be established by a state.

Prop. 79: It is heresy to deny that the civil liberty of every form of worship, and the full power given to all of openly and publicly manifesting whatsoever opinions and thoughts, lead to the more ready corruption of the minds and morals of the people, and to the spread of the plague of religious indifference.

Prop. 80: Or to maintain that the Roman Pontiff can and ought to come to terms with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization (*cum recente civilitate*).

Pope Leo XIII confirms and reiterates the views of Gregory XVI and Pius IX in language which is somewhat more conciliatory but which is none the less vigorous in its presentation of the papal claims to temporal power.

Pope Leo XIII on the Christian Constitution of States.

The following selections are from the encyclical letter *Immortale Dei*, of November 1, 1885:

All public power proceeds from God.

The state is bound to act up to the weighty duties linking it to God by the public profession of religion.

The only true religion is the one established by Christ Himself and which He commanded His Church to protect and propagate.

The Church is a society chartered as of right divine, perfect in its nature and in its title, to possess in itself and by itself, through the will and loving-kindness of its Founder, all needful provision for its maintenance and action. And just as the end at which the Church aims is by far the noblest of

ends, so is its authority the most exalted of all authority, nor can it be looked upon as inferior to the civil power, or in any manner dependent upon it.

In very truth Jesus Christ gave to His Apostles unrestrained authority in regard to things sacred, together with the genuine and most true power of making laws as also with the two-fold right of judging and of punishing, which flow from that power. *"All power is given to Me in heaven and on earth."*

Now this authority, perfect in itself, and plainly meant to be unfettered, so long assailed by a philosophy that truckles to the state, the Church has never ceased to claim for herself and openly to exercise. . . . This same authority the holy fathers of the Church were always careful to maintain by weighty arguments, according as occasion arose, and the Roman pontiffs have never shrunk from defending it with unbending constancy. . . . And assuredly all ought to hold that it was not without a singular disposition of God's providence that this power of the Church was provided with a civil sovereignty as the surest safeguard of her independence.

It must be understood that

the Church is a society perfect in its own nature and its own right, and that those who exercise sovereignty ought not so to act as to compel the Church to become subservient or subject to them. . . . To wish the Church to be subject to the civil power in the exercise of her duty is a great folly and a sheer injustice.

There are nevertheless occasions when, for the sake of peace and liberty, rulers of the state and the Roman pontiff come to an understanding touching some special matter. At such times the Church gives signal proof of her motherly love by showing the greatest possible kindness and indulgence.

Catholics are urged to take an active part in municipal and national politics, "that provision may be made for the instruction of youth in religion," and that "those might not come into power who are badly disposed toward the Church and those who are willing to befriend her be deprived of all influence." Catholics holding public office are further admonished that they "are bound to love the Church, to obey her laws, promote her honor, defend her rights, and to endeavor to make her respected and loved by those over whom they have authority."

It is the duty of Catholics to

endeavor to bring back all civil society to the pattern and form of Christianity which We have described. . . . All these objects will be carried into effect without fail if all will follow the guidance of the Apostolic See as their rule of life and obey the bishops whom the Holy Ghost has placed to rule the Church of God.

If in the difficult times in which our lot is cast, Catholics will give ear to Us, as it behooves them to do, they will readily see what are the duties of each one in matters of opinion as well as action. . . . Especially with reference to the so-called "Liberties" which are so greatly coveted in these days, all must stand by the judgment of the Apostolic See, and have the same mind. . . . As regards opinion, whatever the Roman pontiffs have hitherto taught, or shall hereafter teach, must be held with a firm grasp of mind, and, so often as occasion requires, must be openly professed.

"It cannot be called in question," said Leo XIII, "that in the making of treaties, in the transaction of

business matters, in sending and receiving ambassadors, and in the interchange of other kinds of official dealings, princes and all invested with power to rule have been wont to treat with the Church as with a supreme and legitimate power." In his first encyclical the present pope, Pius XI, rejoices in this recognition of the Vatican as a power in temporal affairs. It is most welcome to him and his cardinals "that in these last times the representatives and rulers of almost all the nations of the world, as though obedient to a common instinct and desire of union and peace, are returned to this Apostolic See to confirm or renew harmony and friendship with it. In which we rejoice, not alone for the increased prestige of Holy Church, but because it is always more clearly apparent, and becomes the experience of all, how manifold and how great are the beneficial powers that she possesses for the prosperity of human society, even in a civil and earthly way."

Insistence upon the full Catholic claims in various countries is a matter of expediency. The first step to supremacy is independence within a limited sphere. The distinction between temporal and spiritual is vigorously insisted on that the Church may be viewed as independent of the state in administering spiritual affairs. The Jesuit theory of a *societas perfecta* is also preached as it places the Church in a position of power coördinate with that of the state. It remains simply for the bishops whom the Holy Ghost has placed over the Church to bide their time until the sentiment of toleration or an indifferent public opinion make pos-

sible the assertion of the supremacy of the Church and the subordinate position of the state.

As an instance of the Church's claim to determine the limits of her own jurisdiction, and an application of the papal theory in present-day America, we cite the Catholic position as to parochial schools.

Let us consider a milder instance of the indirect power, one that involves not the rejection of a government, but the refusal to obey a particular law. For several years a numerous and well-organized band of bigots have been striving for an amendment to the Constitution of Michigan which would prohibit the operation of parochial schools. Suppose this aim were accomplished, and the authorities of the Church formally declared the amendment to be unjust and not binding upon Catholics. This would be an exercise of the indirect power of the Church over the State. The Church would have interfered with, opposed, an ordinance of the State, on the ground that the religious and moral rights of Catholic citizens were violated. It would imply the right to determine when a State ordinance is out of harmony with the ordinances of religion and morality, and the right to refuse obedience to civil regulations which were found to be of this character.

We recur to the statement of the issue by Prof. Laski:³ "We deny the validity of any sovereign power save that of right." And the "discovery of right," which Prof. Laski declares to be the duty of individual members of the State, is for the Catholic citizen achieved in the authoritative decisions of the Church. That is the whole situation considered practically.

³ Mr. Laski does not reciprocate this interest; his two volumes, *The Foundations of Sovereignty and Authority in the Modern State*, both contain caustic criticism and condemnation of the Catholic centralization of authority.

322 INTERCHURCH GOVERNMENT

Catholics insist that the actions of the State should be conformed to the law of Christian revelation, of which the guardian and interpreter is the Catholic Church. We insist that the sphere of the Church is not only distinct from that of the State, but higher in dignity and importance.⁴

TABLE VI SHOWING STATUS OF CHURCH-STATE RELATIONSHIPS IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

	<i>States</i>
Appropriation of public funds for sectarian purposes forbidden by state constitution	40
Parochial school property exempted from taxation by state constitution	32
State inspection of parochial school buildings	23
State supervision of parochial school curriculum	29
Special instruction in civics and patriotism required	24
Public school credit given for Bible study in state-supervised parochial schools	48
Parochial schools must meet state requirements as to quality of teaching and teachers' certificates	11
Parochial schools must make statistical reports	27
State requires medical inspection of parochial school-children	5
State requires oath of allegiance to the United States from all parochial school-teachers	6
State forbids wearing of religious garb in public schools....	3
Daily Bible reading (without comment) required by law in public schools	9

⁴ Ryan and Millar, *The State and the Church*, pp. 41, 47.

There is no reason other than that of political expediency why a Catholic school strike might not be called in the United States as in Alsace-Lorraine in March, 1925. See "France's War of Church and State," *Current History Magazine*, May, 1925.

"For the plain fact is that America will soon become the decisive battle-ground of the Faith. We must therefore be prepared for a struggle in which weapons keener than those just now at our disposal will be called for." From an article entitled, "The Best Method of Catholic Propaganda," in the Jesuit magazine *America*, January 21, 1925.

Bible reading permitted but not required	6
Bible reading forbidden by law	7
No state laws in regard to Bible reading	19
State supreme court decisions adverse to Bible reading in public schools on account of possible sectarianism	4
State supreme court decisions favorable to Bible reading pro- vided same is not compulsory and without comment....	8
(For complete text of the laws see Lischka, C. N., <i>Private Schools and State Laws.</i>)	

3 THE PROTESTANT VIEW

Write the antitheses of the foregoing propositions and you will have the Protestant view.

The Protestant regards the Catholic position as inconsistent, intolerant, antisocial, and undemocratic.

To assert that affairs of Church and state are entirely separated and yet claim an indirect control over temporal matters is inconsistent. Bellarmine for example, who is often referred to by Catholic writers as authoritative, said, "By reason of the spiritual power the pope at least indirectly hath a supreme power even in temporal matters" (*indirecte potestatem temporalibus*). In refuting this doctrine Isaac Barrow stated the position which would be taken by Protestants today. He said:

The qualifications "by reason of the spiritual power" and "at least indirectly" are but notional, insignificant and illusive in regard to practice, it importing not if he hath in his keeping a sovereign power, upon what account or in what formality he doth employ it; seeing that every matter is easily referable to a spiritual account; seeing experience sheweth that he will spiritualize all his interests, and upon any occasion exercise that

pretended authority; seeing it little mattereth, if he may strike princes whether he doth it by a downright blow, or slantingly." ⁵

A recent illustration of the force of this indirect power of the Church in political affairs is the vote on the child labor amendment in Massachusetts. This measure for the protection of childhood was defeated by a three to one vote due largely to Catholic influence.

Cardinal O'Connell told his people to vote *No*. His letter was read on three successive Sundays in the Catholic churches of the state. His eminence told them that the amendment was directed against the parochial schools. He must know that the amendment is nothing of the sort. . . . But he told them. They followed his advice. . . . We who have resisted the tyranny of the klan mind, and who have coveted the chance to stand shoulder to shoulder with Catholics of good will have seen what one man on a throne can do. Thousands of good Catholics are humiliated, but they belong to an organization, and can say nothing.⁶

The papal decrees make it evident that those views are anathema to the Church which tolerate all religions within the state on the same basis, and leave to every man's individual conscience the determination of the true religion. Geffcken in his *Church and State* points out the possible consequences of Catholic intolerance in America:

Under the protection of religious liberty, Roman Catholicism in the United States has grown to a considerable power. Yet

⁵ Isaac Barrow, *A Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy*.

⁶ Hubert Herring, "The Shame of Massachusetts," *Christian Century*, December 11, 1924.

MODERN MODERATION STRIKINGLY DISPLAYED



OR
A MINISTERIAL VISITATION TO A SABBATH EVENING SCHOOL

PLATE XIV. DISPERSION OF A SABBATH EVENING SCHOOL

The scene represented in the etching took place in 1799 during the French Republican War, when political feeling ran high and when the essays of Paine and other similar writers were believed to have gained many proselytes in the cause of democracy. At that time the benevolent plan of Sabbath school teaching which had been recently introduced was viewed by many in a very different light from that in which it is now happily considered. Having been first espoused and organized by sectarians, and its operations principally confined to the lower orders, the system was not only in some degree obnoxious to those who plumed themselves on more respectable connections but was politically viewed as a hotbed of disaffection and sedition. Under this impression the General Assembly [of the State Church] bent all its influence against the practice; and in the Pastoral Admonition of 1799 the teachers of Sabbath schools were described as persons "Notoriously disaffected to the civil constitution of the country." The parochial clergy throughout Scotland were consequently opposed to such schools; and in several instances carried their authority so far as to order them to be suppressed. In apostrophising the genius of the artist on this occasion, as the "Lash o' Scotland," the author of the following lines declares—

"Thou 'st gien yon billy sic a whauker,
'T will dash his pride—
For now his faut appears the blacker,
An' winna hide."

—From H. Paton: *Kay's Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings.*

no one will indulge the illusion that the Catholics, should they ever obtain a majority in Congress, would extend to the Protestants the same toleration which they themselves now enjoy, for the very principle of the Catholic Church is to persecute, as soon as she can do so, that which she conceives to be error. If, therefore, Catholic ascendancy were threatened, the people would be forced to occupy themselves with Church questions.

The Catholic view is further regarded by Protestants as antisocial and undemocratic. Though it is inconsistent to emphasize the complete separation of the temporal and spiritual and at the same time urge Catholic activity in politics, whenever the separation of sacred and secular is advocated it tends to prevent the social application of the ideals of Jesus. The *Catholic Encyclopedia*, for example, says: "The Church is a supernatural society, leading men to a supernatural end. No man is capable of wielding authority for such a purpose unless power is communicated to him from a Divine source. The case is altogether different where civil society is concerned. There the end is not supernatural; it is the temporal well-being of the citizens. It cannot then be said that any special endowment is required to render any class of men capable of filling the place of rulers and guides. Hence the Church approves equally all forms of civil government which are consonant with the principle of justice."

The United States Government is founded on the proposition that democracy is that form of government which is most consonant with the principle of

justice. A "religion of authority" which places monarchies and republics on equal footing is dangerous to a democracy and subversive of the best administration of justice itself.

Protestantism draws a distinction not made by Catholics between the visible and the invisible Church. Catholic and Protestant are one in tracing the foundation of authority to the law of God. For the Catholic the law of God is perfectly embodied in the visible Church. The Protestant would go further in maintaining that no human institution embodies the perfection of the divine. For him the universal is the real, and finite embodiments of transcendental ideals are only fragmentary and transitory. The invisible Church is a transcendental order in which eternal truth, goodness, beauty, and justice are real in persons and in their relations to one another and to God.⁷ The individuals or societies in which these eternal moral laws are realized "make up one mystical, spiritual corporation or republic whereof Christ is the sovereign Lord." The charge that Protestantism rejects all absolute moral principles in favor of complete relativism is unfounded. But Protestantism does hold that the eternal laws of God must be realized on earth in individual lives by the exercise of personal judgment and faith, and that a moralized society cannot be made to order by the arbitrary fiat of some supposedly divine authority. In fact, truth

⁷ Jeremiah 31:33: "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and I will be their God and they shall be my people."

and morality prosper better under a religion of freedom than under a religion of authority. Like Catholicism, Protestantism recognizes the eternal, transcendental, or supernatural element in the formation of political society; but unlike Catholicism, it cannot hold that the invisible ideal is already embodied in any existing institution.

Protestantism generally holds to that conception of collegialism which makes the visible church coördinate with other human societies ("whether of philosophers for learning, or of merchants for commerce or of men of leisure for mutual conversation and discourse")⁸ under the supreme jurisdiction of the state. Even as early as the writings of John Locke and Robert Browne we find that theory of collegialism which makes a distinction between the rights of the Church as *in sacra* or *in foro interno*, and the power of the state as *circa sacra* and *in foro externo*.

Let us now consider what a church is. A church then I take to be a voluntary society of men, joining themselves together of their own accord, in order to the publick worshipping of God, in such a manner as they may judge acceptable of Him, and effectual to the salvation of their souls.

I say, it is a free and voluntary society.⁹

The same theory is evident in this selection from Browne's *Reformation without Tarrying*:

Yet may the magistrate doo nothing concerning the Church but onelie civile, and as other civile Magistrates, that is, they

⁸ John Locke, *First Letter on Toleration*.

⁹ *Ibid.*

have not that authoritie over the Church as to be Prophetes and Priestes, or spiritual Kings, as they are Magistrates over the same: but onelie to rule the common wealth in all *outwarde* Justice, to maintaine the right welfare and honor thereof, with *outwarde* power, bodily punishment and civil forcing of men. And therefore also *because the church is in a common wealth, it is of their charge*: that is *concerning the outward provision and outward justice*, they are to look to it, but to compell religion, to plant churches by power, and to force submission to Ecclesiastical government by lawes and penalties belongeth not to them, as is proved before. Let us not therefore tarie for the Magistrates.

This, then, is what the Protestant means by the separation of Church and state. By the same phrase the Catholic would express exactly the opposite meaning; that is, that the state is one of a number of human societies subordinate to the supreme, divinely commissioned, authority of the Church. The Catholic view identifies the transcendental Kingdom of God with the existing Church. The Protestant view is that the state is the Kingdom of God in the making and that the Church is an agency for remaking the state toward Christian ideals.

As an agency for spiritualizing the motives of its citizens, the state must allow the Church the freedom and privileges necessary for the performance of this duty. This demands at least four things:

(1) Complete liberty of conscience and the encouragement of freedom in moral judgment.

(2) Toleration of all religious beliefs as a cardinal principle of statecraft.

(3) That evangelism or the conversion of unbelievers be made a voluntary and not a political enterprise.

(4) An attitude on the part of civil officers favorable to the progressive adoption of Christian principles in affairs of state.

The Protestant Church has always been slow to condemn political oppressors, but it has also been steadfast in defense of the primary rights of the individual conscience in its relations to Christ and His Kingdom.

Protestantism is the greatest safeguard of the democratic state. The Protestant Reformation was the cause of the rebirth of democracy in our modern world. The right of private judgment, priesthood of believers, justification by faith became watchwords of liberty in politics as well as in religion. The rise of political independence is to be traced through the Protestant, not the Catholic, tradition. To-day the Protestant is found working for the success of movements designed to strengthen the Federal Government, as federal control of the liquor traffic, of child labor, and of education, whereas the Catholic Church is always opposed to such movements. On the part of Catholic authorities we find a subtly expressed fear of liberty and of popular judgment; on the part of Protestants, faith in democracy and in the masses of the people. The Protestant churches are becoming increasingly democratic; the Catholic Church, increasingly autocratic. An autocratic Church is the most dangerous enemy of the democratic state.

In harmony with its sympathy for the democratic state, Protestantism enthusiastically supports the public schools. With regard to the Protestant attitude toward the public schools, the International Council of Religious Education, representing the leading Protestant denominations of America, makes the following statement of principles:

(1) *Democracy and Universal Education.* In this day of political, social and industrial unrest, it is helpful to restate, in terms that can be comprehended by all people, the fact that *the perpetuity of democratic governments depends upon the intelligence and moral integrity of the people.* We have attempted on this continent the experiment of democratic government. Democracy presupposes the capacity of every citizen for self-control in the interests of the common welfare. The public school system is one of democracy's chief instruments for developing in each individual the powers of self-direction. It was just because universal education is essential to democratic government that our forefathers established a system of free public schools.

The Protestant churches of America are committed to democracy and to free public schools as its necessary corollary. Because they believe in a free state they send their children to the public schools where they may be trained for the highest democratic citizenship.

(2) *The Separation of Church and State.* But the Protestant churches also believe in a free church within a free state. For this reason they are committed to the basic American principle of the separation of church and state. Because of this deep-seated conviction, the formal teaching of religion has been omitted from the curricula of public schools and the churches have assumed the responsibility of religious teaching.

The removal of formal religious teaching from the public schools in the interests of the perpetuity of our common democratic institutions places peculiar obligations on both church and state.

The Christian citizenship of a community assumes the obligation of supporting two school systems—one for secular instruction and the other for religious nurture. The Protestant Church, in creating a separate system of church schools, assumes the inherent obligation of maintaining the unity of the educative process. This demands a close correlation of public and church schools.

The state, which is dependent upon the church for the religious motives which undergird the virtues of its citizenship, assumes certain obligations to the educational agencies of the churches as the chief recognized means through which the state can encourage and secure a common religious education for all children.

(3) *Recommendations.* In view of the foregoing considerations the International Sunday School Council of Religious Education:

a Reaffirms its faith in the public schools and urges upon citizens of all creeds the necessity of extending and developing these schools in the interest of democracy and free institutions.

b Reaffirms its faith in religious education as an indispensable means of preserving both the virtues of the citizens of the state and the spiritual ideals of the church.

c Urges the churches to preserve inviolate the principle of the separation of church and state by the strict observance of all the laws and traditions that have been created to guard the freedom of church and state.

d Urges upon public school authorities the recognition of their obligations:

1 To rearrange public school schedules and build public

school programs in sympathetic coöperation with religious schools of all faiths;

- 2 To grant, under approved safeguards, suitable academic credit to students carrying approved courses under church auspices;
- 3 To provide optional courses in ethical and social training for students not enrolled in week-day schools of religion.

4 THE KINGDOM OF GOD THE GOAL OF THE STATE

One of the great defects of modern statecraft is the super-emphasis given to methods at the expense of attention to ends. When our Presbyterian forefathers got together to draw up a catechism which should express their convictions about God and life, their first question was, "What is the chief end of man?" They felt that until they knew why man is here, what he is here for, the end for which he is designed, they were not in a position to say very much about him. This question of the end or purpose of our activities is almost ignored in the various aspects of modern life. Some of our modern scientists have been content to say that none of our efforts or activities are *for* anything; they simply are. Others, however, feel that in our absorption in processes we have lost sight of purpose. Mr. H. G. Wells, for example, would suggest at least a limited amount of prudential foresight to take the place of older, and what he regards as outgrown religious ideals. He says: "I put it to you that the psychology, the men-

Dukes County & at his majesty Court of general Sessions of
the Peace holden at Exeter within and for the County of
Dukes County on the ~~Eight~~ ^{Twenty} day of October

Anno Domini 1734

We the Grand Jurors of our Sovereign Lord the
King for the County of the County of Dukes County
upon our Oath Present ^{John Rogers} ~~John Rogers~~ for not
attending the Publick worship of god on the Lords Day
as ye Law Directs in the months July August and
September Last Past; ~~John Rogers~~ Present for not
attending the Publick
worship of god on the Lords Day as the Law Directs
in the months August September October Last
Past

John Rogers

Item we present Ruth Bagget wife of ^{John} ~~John~~ Bagget
of Exeter within and for the County of Dukes County for not attending the
Publick worship of god on the Lords Day as ye Law Directs
in the months of ~~July~~ August September & October Last

John Bagget

PLATE XV. INDICTMENT FOR NOT ATTENDING THE PUBLIC WORSHIP OF GOD ON THE LORD'S DAY AS YE LAW DIRECTS, MARTHA'S VINEYARD, 1734. (*Athearn MSS.*, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.)

Dukes County S. S. at his majestys Court of General Sessions of the Peace Holdn at Edgar Town within and for over sd County of Dukes County on the last Tuesday of October Anno Domini 1734—

We the Grand Jurors of our Souveraign Lord the King for the Body of the sd County of Dukes County upon our oaths present Ebenezer Rogers of Tis bury in sd County, Yoeman, for not attending the Publick worship of god on the Lords Day as ye Law Directs in the months of July August and September Last Past. We also present Iesral Daggett of Edgartown in sd County Labourer for not attending the Publick worship of god on the Lords Day as the Law Directs in the months August September & October Last Past.

Jethro Athearn, fourman.

Item—We present Ruth Daggett, wife (of Israel Daggett of Edgartown) in sd County spinster for not attending the Publick worship of God on the Lords day as ye Law Directs in ye months August September and October Last.

Jethro Athearn, fourman.

tality of a community that has a *Book of Forecasts* in hand and under watchful revision will be altogether steadier and stronger and clearer than that of a community which lives as we do to-day, mere adventurers without foresight, in a world of catastrophes and accidents and unexplained things. We shall be living again in a plan. Our lives will be shaped to certain defined ends. We shall fall into place in a great scheme of activities. We shall recover again some or all of the steadfastness and dignity of our old religious life." ¹⁰

(a) *Need and Function of a Goal.* Indeed, a plan, an ideal of action, is useful from a psychological and a social point of view. The scientific study of the mind is bringing us to a new realization of the practical values of the Christian virtues of faith and hope. The attitude of despair makes life impossible, actually makes the heart stop beating. Hope makes men energetic, courageous, steadfast in endurance; and the heart of hope is an ideal of future good. A successful man is one whose ideals are clearest and purpose most resolute. Even the economist reminds us that thrift, utility, economic values are derived ultimately from the tendency and ability of man to sacrifice present pleasures for a future good. Aristotle taught by many clever illustrations that there are four causes of the production of anything. There are the *material* cause, or the stuff out of which it is made; the *formal* cause, the plan or blue-print of the work; the *efficient* or moving cause—the power-plant. But more im-

¹⁰ *The Salvaging of Civilization*, p. 137.

When the saints discover what God wants them to do, they generally find a way to do it. They have enough spiritual power to overcome all mistakes of procedure. They may be physically but not spiritually awkward. After all, in view of the facts would n't an increase in old-fashioned, honest clumsiness be a good thing? Is n't there an excess of *finesse*, an overworship of technique, a sublimation of explanation, in the world now? With all our scientific assurance would the typical gentleman of our age be perfectly at home in the realm of the spirit? Surely St. Peter will not give large room to knowledge of etiquette in his standards and tests for entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven. The chief problem of our social and political system is not the perfection of better machines, but the production of more perfect persons, the casting of the devils of greed and extortion out of those who control the machines. It is a problem of personal and social ideals and purposes: profit and pleasure, or service and sacrifice? Are we not too willing to let uncertainty as to the best methods of doing right become an excuse for doing wrong? Not that we ought to be less concerned with the *means of grace*, but that we ought to be more animated by the *hope of glory*.

b *The Meaning of the Kingdom of God Ideal in Modern Thought.* It is the function of the Church to make clear the ends of political life in terms of Christian ideals and to furnish the dynamic for attaining them. It is to spiritualize the lives of all citizens in the state in terms of the ideals of the Kingdom of God.

Do these ideals of the Kingdom have any meaning for our day, or are they so inextricably associated with millennial expectations, physical catastrophes, and ancient Jewish notions of a monarchical Messiah as to have lost spiritual significance for modern life? Or is there in the ideal of the Kingdom an abiding spiritual truth which needs to be restated in terms of present-day thought?

The Kingdom of God is pictured in the Gospels as above society and as developing within society. The Kingdom is transcendent, immanent, and evolving.

The Kingdom of God as a transcendent moral ideal for society means that there is in political organization an absolute principle, and that the ideals of states are not entirely relative to custom or circumstance, that the purpose of God moves as a permanent and abiding force in the processes of historic change. It is an ideal which contains super-historical elements. The vision of the Kingdom could not be constructed by the empirical historian. In neither the past or the present experience of humanity have the ideals of the perfection of humanity been realized. The Kingdom ideal is not built from social customs by imagination, but it is the revelation of an order of Being beyond and above society, which society appropriates but does not create. Humanity, in other words, does not live to itself alone, but exists "unto the fullness of God." The Kingdom of God satisfies the cravings of the soul for a love that is more than the transient love that earth can offer, for an ideal that is not finite but in-

portant than any of these, thinks Aristotle, is the *final* cause, the purpose of the work, the intention of the worker, the end toward which the power is directed, what the whole thing is *for*, anyway. This power of purposes, personal and collective, to advance the efficiency of individuals and society Wundt has called the dominant law of spiritual life and entitled the "increase of spiritual energy," in contrast to the energy of the physical world, which is held neither to increase nor decrease.¹¹ In our earnest and praiseworthy endeavor to increase the production of goods, should we allow our social and industrial efficiency experts to overlook this final and most important source of productivity? Above all, should we let our statesmen overlook it? Is there not a reason for the feeling that our politicians, pilots of the ship of state, spend entirely too much time in the engine-room and entirely too little time looking at the stars? "The political inquirer," says Newman, "must not ignore current opinion or practice, but correcting his confusions with the aid of a distinct conception of the end of human life and of the state, he must make clear to himself and others the principles on which he proceeds."¹² James Russell Lowell, in discussing the political opinions of Dante, says that the true statesman's opinions "are reasoned out from the astronomic laws of history and ethics, and are not weather-guesses snatched in a glance at the doubtful political sky of the hour."

¹¹ See Ward, *The Realm of Ends*, p. 280.

¹² Newman, *Politics of Aristotle*, Vol. I, p. 458.

Swiftly the politic goes: is it dark? he borrows a lantern;
Slowly the statesman and sure, guiding his feet by the stars.¹³

Is not the sense of the failure and decline of civilization to be traced to our neglect of the question, "What is the chief end of man?" And is not this neglect in turn an evidence of the failure of the scientific method to provide motives, purposes, ideals, and guidance for life?

In every period of history there have been savants who expected science to reveal the deepest mysteries of the universe, but the god to whom they bow the knee has continually disappointed them. The great nations of the world are still vying with one another to purchase inventions devised for the perfection of killing. Prominent scientists in the fields of physics, chemistry, electrodynamics, surgery, and bacteriology find it necessary to call for a refusal to lend their abilities any further to search and study that aspire to multiply engines of destruction. There will always be problems of human life which natural science alone can never solve. You cannot turn on the millennium merely by snapping an electric switch!

There is danger that we shall be deceived into thinking that the "scientific control of natural resources" can be substituted for the guidance and control which can only come from moral and spiritual forces. The great heroes of history were less concerned with methods than with ends. The memory of one spiritual leader outlasts that of a thousand technicians.

¹³ Lowell, *Works*, Vol. 4, p. 179.

finite, for goodness, truth, and beauty that are not relative but absolute; all else proving vanity and illusion. In this connection a sentence from Calvin's dedication of his *Institutes of Religion* seems strikingly modern: "In the kingdom of God nothing but his eternal truth should be heard and regarded, which no succession of years, no custom, no confederacy can circumscribe." As the Rev. George A. Gordon says, "The Universe is an army under marching orders; change is continuous and ceaseless, but the order to march does not change."

The political aspect of the transcendent ideal is indicated in a statement from Professor Adams, in his *Idealism in the Modern Age*:

Modern structures need scrutiny and appraisalment in the light of ideals and values which are autonomous. And this entire modern ideal and attitude of activity, control, and democracy, just as every pulse of conscious activity and will, presupposes an outlying significant structure which may be possessed and apprehended. At the heart of our modern ideals, awaiting clarification and articulation, is something in addition to creative intelligence, something akin to participation in what Plato envisaged as the idea of Good, and what Christianity apprehended as the universal historical community.¹⁴

Christ speaks of the Kingdom as present in the hearts of individuals. It is only through the God-consciousness of persons that the Kingdom can come to be immanent in human society. Civil laws, it is true, do tend to approximate absolute ethical prin-

¹⁴ Page 250.

ciples. But this is because of the personal communion of individuals with God, and His influence over their motives and activities. The Kingdom is immanent in the state, not as a revealed system of divine laws, but as a revealed person of divine love. Buddha and Mohammed issued codes of religious and civil laws supposed to reveal the will of God as it should be practised in the state. Christ issued no positive laws of this kind. His people are governed not by laws he framed but by the ideal he embodied. It is through the continued spiritual presence of Christ in the lives of individuals that the Kingdom of God is immanent in the state. Woodrow Wilson calls our attention to the fact that political history is "not merely the history of institutions and of opinion. It is also the history of something which transcends our divination and escapes our analysis—the power of God in the life of men. God does indeed deal with men in society through social forces, but he deals with him also individually, as a single soul, not lost in society or impoverished of his individual will and responsibility by his connection with the lives of other men, but himself sovereign and lonely in the choice of his destiny. This singleness of the human soul, this several right and bounden duty of individual choice, to be exercised oftentimes in contempt and defiance of society, is a thing no man is likely to overlook who has noted the genesis of our modern liberty or assessed the forces of reform and regeneration which have lifted us to our present enlightenment; and it introduces into the history of the state, at any rate since the day of Christ,

the master of free souls, an element which plays upon society like an independent force, like no native energy of its own."

; The immanence of God in the affairs of men was the essential truth in Calvin's doctrine of Divine Providence. "All the parts of the world," he says, "are animated by the secret inspiration of God"; but more especially in the affairs of men is God "vigilant, efficacious, energetic, and ever active." "It were cold and lifeless to represent God as a momentary Creator, who completed his work once for all and then left it. Here especially we must dissent from the profane, and maintain that the presence of the divine power is conspicuous, not less in the perpetual condition of the world than in its first creation." ¹⁵

As citizens of time we are burdened by all its changes, chances, and sufferings. But we are able to endure these sufferings because there is in us the quality of truth, in each an indispensable meaning and value for himself, for society, and for God; because we are also citizens of an eternal, spiritual Kingdom surrounding and infusing the temporal and endowing it with worth, moral freedom, justice, and all its permanent and abiding qualities. Not only in nature spiritually apperceived, and in personal religious experience, but also in the organized life of society there opens out in varying degrees of clearness and certainty

The true world within the world we see,
Whereof our world is but the bounding shore.

¹⁵ Calvin, *Institutes*, Book I, Chap. 16:1.

Whatever uncertainty there may be as to other aspects of Jesus' teaching regarding the Kingdom, nothing could be more clear than the parables which present his conception of the Kingdom as a gradual growth or development. It is a development measured by moral standards and described in spiritual terms. In attempting to understand this conception of Jesus in the forms of thought of our own day we are at once face to face with modern notions of evolution.

A conception of development which has gained more attention in modern thought than its importance warrants is the doctrine of mechanistic evolution. This is a doctrine which attempts to explain all the activities of life and growth in terms of physics, chemistry, and biology. Regarding the world as a soulless machine to be adequately described entirely by abstract mathematical concepts, then experiences of purpose, ideals, plans, and all forms of conscious guidance must be regarded as illusory. Among other difficulties, this theory does not account for the appearance of life from inert matter, nor for the appearance and power of mind as a controlling spiritual factor in the midst of mechanical growth and development; nor does it account adequately for the appearance of new and novel forms of life and growth: though speaking much of the "survival of the fit" it can give no intelligible explanation of the "arrival of the fit." The very phrase "survival of the fittest" is a meaningless expression, for without the standards of value and purpose, the existence of which naturalistic evolution denies, any old thing which happened to survive would

of course be the fittest, since the very fact that it survived is the only criterion of judgment. This is the most serious defect of this theory. It has no standard of moral development. Goodness, like beauty, is an epiphenomenon, to be valued only as it contributes to biological survival in a material world. As a defender of materialistic evolution says:

"The ethical process is emphatically a part of the cosmical process. The struggle for the ethical life in society is only a higher phase of the general struggle for existence."¹⁶

But according to the mechanistic or purposeless theory of development, what is to be the future of our world and, more especially, the fate of political society? It has already been pointed out that the future prophesied by materialism is a dismal one. "The theory of evolution," Huxley has said, "encourages no millennial anticipations. If for millions of years our globe has taken the upward road, yet sometime the summit will be reached and the downward route will be commenced. The most daring imagination will hardly venture upon the suggestion that the power and intelligence of man can ever arrest the procession of that great year."¹⁷ More recent exponents of the theory have been even more pessimistic, Bertrand Russell, for example, finding no reason to hope for the survival of human beings or moral values amid the clash and destructive decline of the World Machine. One writer, Nietzsche, has given

¹⁶ Frances E. White, *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 6, p. 100.

¹⁷ "Evolution and Ethics," *Collected Essays*, No. 9, p. 85.

us a picture of the future of the state as conceived in terms of naturalistic evolution. The "survival of the fittest" is to produce a Superman, who will be as superior to present-day humans as men are above apes. His superiority, however, will be that of physical strength, not of spiritual goodness. This higher man, he tells us, will reject the existing morality of liberty, equality, and fraternity, founded on the golden rule of benevolence and brotherly love; this Christian morality is fit only for slaves. "Lo, I teach you Superman. The Superman is the meaning of the earth. Let your will say: The Superman shall be the meaning of the earth. I conjure you, my brethren, *remain true to the earth and believe not those who speak unto you of super-earthly hopes!* . . . A state? What is that? Many, too many, are born. For the superfluous ones was the state devised. . . . There, where the state ceaseth—pray look thither, my brethren! Do you not see it, the rainbow and bridges of the Superman?"

The attitude toward political reform which this doctrine begets is evidenced in the writings of Herbert Spencer. He denounced as the "coming slavery" all measures such as free compulsory education, regulation of the liquor traffic, factory legislation, workmen's insurance, and the "sins of legislators" who were trying to interfere with "natural selection" and the whole evolutionary process. The ultimate political effect of the doctrines of naturalistic evolution has been pointed out by Professor Holcombe, who says that its logical result would be to "do away with all organized action

to protect man against man, and leave him alone exposed to the 'beneficent though severe discipline to which the animal creation at large is subjected.' The state like the church, is condemned because it mitigates the severity of the struggle for existence and hinders the survival of the most fit. *Such a doctrine dispenses with the idea of justice as a distinct concept for the guidance of human conduct. It merges justice with liberty and explains both in terms of the laws which govern the animal kingdom in general. Instead of a state we have that most merciless of conditions, the anarchy of the brute creation.'*¹⁸

Few, however, would deny the facts of growth and development and progress in life and history. How is Jesus' undoubted acceptance and inculcation of these truths in his parables to be understood? The parables teach spiritual truths; the development which they illustrate is interpreted in terms of moral and spiritual life. Perhaps by assuming the point of view of Jesus, that persons with their plans and ideals are not illusory but real, that the vital forces in life are the purposes of persons, finite and divine, we may be able to arrive at a more consistent and intelligible interpretation of growth, development, and progress in the world.

The spiritual interpretation of nature holds that every living thing exhibits evidence of purposive guidance. The numerous adaptations of living things to environment are best understood when seen as subservient to some end or purpose such as the realization

¹⁸ *Modern Commonwealth*, p. 235.

of a better life for the organism or a higher ideal for a person. The stimulus of the environment releases the inner energy of the organism so that its adaptations are propelled by its own essential nature. The root of a plant, for example, is propelled by its own nature to search for water. The lower animals guide themselves toward the satisfaction of their needs, not by following some mechanical attraction, but stimulated by the nature of their own organization. Not that plants or animals are conscious of purpose, but that all their activities may be most comprehensively and coherently interpreted if they are understood as realizing an end even though this purpose may be only evident to the observer.

And if organic life is best understood through purpose, surely the material elements upon which life depends for existence must also subserve the purposes of higher forms of life. Indeed, we are told by chemists that the material elements, considered independently, seem to have a tendency each to retain its own potency and integrity. When the elements combine they seem to enter into a conspiracy to promote the welfare of the whole substance or organism. But of course this tendency of the elements to combine with other elements for an improved condition must be understood from the standpoint of human welfare and purposes.

And in the realm of human life the most evident attribute of persons, to an unprejudiced observer, must be the purposeful guidance of activities. The most scientific analysis of all antecedent conditions would not explain to any one the real cause of his

activities. No, when asked to give a reason for our behavior we reply in terms of a purpose to be achieved, a final end to be realized, a value which appeals to us as a future good; and if these ends are illusory, all our activities would appear to be meaningless. How else explain the appearance of hope and faith as facts in human life? "Ever since man has attained to self-consciousness and reason," says James Ward, "he has had ideals and will always have them; and his ideals are the measure of his worth and the sure marks of his progress or decline."¹⁹

As the existence of numerous interacting individuals points to their mutual dependence upon one universal Being as the ground of their communication, so the presence of numerous purposes in all the levels of life points to the presence of a universal purpose as the harmonizer and director of all these individual ends toward one final consummation. Especially in realms below the conscious do we see evidence of a universal purpose. The inanimate creation is adapted to serve the purposes of plants and animals. A world force seems to carry organic life irresistibly along in its development toward higher and better forms of existence. Even in human life this unconscious purpose seems to be evident, as in the adaptations and processes of the physical organism, and in the realization of institutions, customs, and beliefs built up without any of the persons to whom they may be traced having any clear idea of the end toward which their efforts were tending. We may call this moving and purpose-

¹⁹ *Realm of Ends*, p. 421.

ful power a characterless *élan vital* with Bergson, or with Calvin we may think it worth calling Divine Providence. For it is exactly this ancient insight which modern thought has only succeeded in clarifying and emphasizing from a new point of view. "Inanimate objects," said Calvin, "are merely instruments into which God constantly infuses what energy he sees meet and turns and converts to any purpose at his pleasure. . . . Each species of created objects is moved by a secret instinct of nature, as if they obeyed the eternal command of God. . . . Christ 'upholds all things by the word of His Power' (Heb. 1:3). . . . Hence we infer not only that the general providence of God, containing the order of Nature, extends over the creatures, but that by his wonderful counsel they are adapted to a certain special purpose."

This conception of the presence of a universal purpose evidenced in nature enables us to give a more intelligible and consistent interpretation of all the facts than the mechanistic or naturalistic explanation alone. Formulating his thought three hundred years before the modern development of the evolutionary theory, Calvin showed remarkable insight into the moral and religious significance of this problem. And this insight has been in large measure confirmed by the research of modern scholars. For example, Calvin says: "If the Government of God thus extends to all his works it is a childish cavil to confine it to natural influx. Those who confine the providence of God within narrow limits as if he allowed all things to be borne along freely according to a perpetual law of

nature, do not more defraud God of his glory than themselves of a most useful doctrine."

This position is substantially that of the purposive or spiritual view of evolution. We conclude that the spiritual point of view is most fundamental, says James Ward, "because while it is impossible from the standpoint of Nature to reach Spirit, it is only from the standpoint of Spirit that Nature can be understood: in a word when we take the universe to be spiritual—a realm of ends."

Though evidences of purpose are found at the lower levels of life, it is from the standpoint of conscious purpose as evidenced by human persons that the nature and character of the universal conscious purpose may be inferred. Human purposes are directed by moral ideals. The moral order to which the natural order is subservient is indicative of the moral character of the universal purpose. The realization of this universal purpose involves the existence of a universal will and intelligence capable of conceiving an ideal moral order. This ideal moral order was revealed by the universal mind of Christ as the Kingdom of God. And it has its earthly or empirical realization in the established moral order of society; that is, the state. Some such thought as this is suggested as in harmony with Calvin's method: "As we know that it was chiefly for the sake of mankind that the world was made we must look to this as the end which God has in view in the government of it." The existence of the state as a moral order of society becomes therefore an indication of the existence of the King-

dom of Heaven. The state is an evidence that a moral purpose is being realized in the world, and such a purpose is inconceivable apart from the existence of a Divine Will and a Divine Ideal.

As the goal of the state, the Kingdom of God is both a transcendent spiritual ideal and an ethical ideal immanent within society. The Kingdom of God is the meaning of the state. As the goal of the state we may conceive of the Kingdom of God as the *vis a fronte* operating after the manner of Aristotle's final cause.²⁰ Aristotle held that the "notion of a city precedes that of a family or individual as the whole must necessarily be prior to the parts." So we might conceive of a hierarchy of ideals or forms of associative life: family, village, city, nation, world, planetary beings, the communion of saints, the Kingdom of Heaven. Regarding the Kingdom ideal as the final cause of the state, we might speak of the substantial cause as human nature or the souls of men. The formal cause might be thought of as Christ, or as God's will revealed in Christ and immanent in religious experiences. The efficient cause might be regarded as the coöperating wills of God and man, or as the Holy Spirit working to direct the intentions, motives, ideals,

²⁰ Aristotle did not apply his forms of cause with thoroughness to the state. Hence he does not apply his ethical principle as an absolute final cause, but allows for a large measure of relativity, slavery, aristocracy, and democracy being justifiable by circumstances. His conception of God as a final cause was far from clear or even coherent, God as the "unmoved mover" being an abstract and impersonal Idea. "It was left for Christian philosophy to determine and develop the idea of the divine person." (Turner, *History of Philosophy*, p. 143.)

and wills of men. Aristotle said that matter tended toward its form with something akin to desire. So we might think of the state as drawn toward its perfection by the ideal of the Kingdom of God, the desire of nations. "Human society," said Carlyle, "holds itself together and finds place under the Sun, in virtue of some approximation to perfection being actually made and put in practice."

c *The Significance of the Kingdom of God Ideal in Modern Political and Religious Life.* The Kingdom of God furnishes the state with its constitutive moral ideal. Politics has been defined by the Rev. George A. Gordon as "the organization of the people in the interest of the ideal ends of life." The Kingdom of God furnishes a plan for the direction and guidance of such an organization. This is especially significant in discussions as to the limitations of political authority. A thing is always limited by its purpose. The scholastic philosophers had a saying, *agere sequitur esse* (to do follows to be). That is to say, the essential nature of any being determines the possibilities of its action. Government is not excluded from this dictum but is always limited in Christian thought by the purpose of God to establish justice and righteousness in the earth. Governmental authority, said Calvin, because it is based on the moral law of the Kingdom of Christ, "is given for edification not destruction, those who use it lawfully deeming themselves to be nothing more than servants of Christ and at the same time servants of the people in Christ." ²¹

²¹ *Institutes*, Book 4, Ch.

The mystical conception that citizens though living *in* the state are not *of* the state but of the Kingdom of God promotes the development of the personal and political virtues which are the life-blood of the state. Far from inspiring neglect of earthly affairs, the thought of the Kingdom of God as immanent is a revolutionary worldly doctrine. It is an ideal creative of personal values, what Hume called the "awful and respectable virtues," and Christianity epitomizes as "clean hands and a pure heart." And it is an ideal conducive to the development of those highest powers of constructive vision which make the statesman a prophet. The Kingdom ideal is a revolutionary worldly doctrine because it is revolutionary in personal life. It is creative of the inner spiritual history which flows along beneath the noisy outward history of the world. Professor Harnack summarizes this historic effect of Christian idealism as follows:

There is no such thing as a double history; everything that happens enters into the one stream of events. But there is a single inner experience which every one can possess; which to every one who possesses it is like a miracle; and which cannot be simply explained as the product of something else. It is what the Christian religion describes as the *New Birth*—that inner, moral, new creation which transmutes all values, and of the slaves of compulsion makes the children of freedom. Not even in the history of the church can any one get a direct vision of this inner revolution accomplished in the individual, nor by any external facts whatever can any one be convinced of its possibility and reality. But the light which shines from it throws its rays on what happens on the stage, and lets

the spectator feel in his heart, that the forces of history are not exhausted in the natural forces of the world, or in the powers of head and hand. This is the inner mystery of history because it is the inner mystery of religion.²²

Theological ideas influence political parties. The Kingdom of God may be pictured as a static place of rest hereafter, or as coming miraculously without the effort of human wills or the transformation of human character. St. Paul had to warn against the inertia and anarchy which followed this conception. Yet it is a conception which is thoroughly in harmony with the ideas of conservative political parties. Leaders in control of both sacred and secular institutions seem constitutionally opposed to change. The coming of the Kingdom of God, which means the aggressive adoption of Christian social ideals, involves institutional change. We find therefore that conservatives are inclined either toward naturalistic views which would rule out moral and divine causation entirely, or toward "other-worldly" views of the Kingdom of God. There is not much difference between *political statics* and *theological statics*. The Kingdom of God as a moral ideal implies gradual and progressive change in social institutions; it is not revolutionary in the sense of the anarchist who would abolish institutions, but it is revolutionary in the sense of the moralist who would transform institutions. The theological conservative who is more interested in controlling a sect than in promoting the kingdom of God, and the politician in-

²² "The Relation between Ecclesiastical and General History," *Proceedings*, Congress of Arts and Sciences, 1916.

terested in maintaining the *status quo*, are likely to be found in sympathetic coöperation.

Since the early days of the Roman Empire Christians have been transforming political institutions by *conscientious objection* to things as they are. Christianity changes men, and states have been forced to change their constitutions to correspond with the changed moral character of men. Loyalty to the Kingdom of God means the *conscientious projection* of Christian ideals into affairs of state. When the physical forces of the state and the moral requirements of Christianity come into irreconcilable conflict, the Christian's first loyalty is to the Kingdom of God. When Christ said, "Render unto God the things that are God's, and unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," he called attention to the truth that Cæsar was not, as Roman citizens were compelled to believe, a god.

The conscientious objector must consider, however, that the maintenance of a certain minimum of political order is necessary to the realization of any moral order, that a democratic state can rise no higher toward a spiritual kingdom than the moral level of the majority; and he must count the cost of war. Even then there may conceivably be a time when the right as it appears to the individual conscience is more important than peace with the state. The state also must count the cost of war in case of its own failure to keep faith with the individual citizen in ushering in the better day of God. It may be said to have failed passively when no effort is made to raise the moral

level of the majority; and actively when measures for the repression of the best life are instituted which prevent the free and progressive moral development of the people, which deliberately encourage immoral amusements, or which place material above spiritual standards of life. The state as well as the people both owe allegiance to a Higher Power, and when either party fails to keep faith the other party may call it to account. The only case in which the conscientious objector can be of real danger to the state is when the key to his conscience is held by an earthly, not a heavenly power. Any state which claims to be an infallible authority, with power to dictate the convictions of the individual consciences of citizens of other states, is a dangerous source of political disorder, a fomenter of international wars, and the most serious obstacle to the coming of God's Kingdom on earth.

Refusal to engage in war is simply a special instance of the right of rebellion. The case of the conscientious objector now is somewhat different than before the League of Nations was established. Here we have an international order which, so many believe, may be depended upon to keep good faith in its efforts to prevent war, and introduce moral principles into international affairs. Hereafter, the nation which makes war will be the rebel. Such a nation will have the burden of proof thrust upon it, of showing reason for not living at peace under the law of nations. To-day the outstanding anarchists among the nations are the United States and Russia. At the present time

the United States is in the position of objecting without rational or moral justification to the reign of international law. The conscientious objector may say that he believes in obeying international law. From the standpoint of an international order, the burden of proof now is not upon the individual conscientious objector to war; the burden of proof rests upon the rebel nation which would make war.

Recently, there has been much discussion as to whether the preacher should take an interest in politics. Has there ever been a time when the prophets did not take an interest in politics? Politics is a prophet's chief business. The prophets of ancient Israel spoke their minds rather freely to Israel's kings on very specific political acts. "The statesman," says Dr. Gordon, "who says that politics can be separated from religion has a mean conception of politics; and a minister who thinks that religion can be separated from politics has a correspondingly mean conception of the Christian religion."

In a democracy the whole community is responsible for the conduct of affairs of state. Every class ought to take a part. Every class ought to bring to the government its own contribution. Only the ministry and the very rich and leisure classes seem inclined to stand aside on the ground that politics is not good enough for them, whereas the minister's responsibility to the state is greater than that of any other class. In accepting the call to the ministry he has assumed the responsibility of guiding the Great Community on its way. This involves political guidance, for political

issues are fundamentally spiritual. So accustomed is the ministry to reading the laity lessons from Scripture that more immediate applications are often overlooked. For example, Ezekiel's picture of the prophet as a watchman:

And the word of Jehovah came unto me saying, When I bring the sword upon a land and the people of the land take a man from among them and set him up for a watchman; if he blow the trumpet and warn the people, then whosoever heareth the sound of the trumpet and taketh not warning, his blood shall be upon his own head. But if the watchman see the sword come and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned, and the sword come, and take any person from among them; he is taken away in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand.²³

The ancient guides of Nations, Prophets, Priests, or whatever their name, were well aware of this; and, down to a late epoch, impressively taught and inculcated it. The modern guides of Nations, who also go under a great variety of names, Journalists, Political Economists, Politicians, Pamphleteers, have entirely forgotten this, and are ready to deny it. But it nevertheless remains eternally undeniable: nor is there any doubt but we shall all be taught it yet, and made again to confess it: we shall all be striped and scourged till we do learn it; and shall at last either get to know it, or be striped to death in the process. For it is undeniable! When a Nation is unhappy, the old Prophet was right and not wrong in saying to it: Ye have forgotten God, ye have quitted the ways of God, or ye would not have been unhappy.²⁴

²³ Ezekiel 33: 1-7.

²⁴ Carlyle, *Past and Present*.

The minister cannot fulfil his duty as a spiritual guide of individuals unless he takes upon himself the spiritual guidance of the community as a whole. To do this he must aid his parishioners in discerning moral issues in political activities. The politico-ethical conscience of the community must be stirred up, and that of the minister must be kept clear and sensitive. This power to discern the moral implications of political questions is of great value and is one of the chief qualifications of the true prophet. The minister must be a keen student of politics as well as of religion. He should know what the moral reaction of political policies will be. He should be prepared to take a definite stand upon specific measures. Sometimes the moral implications of political policies will lie on the surface, e. g., prohibition; but more often the moral results will be more remote and will require a more careful analysis to disclose. The American public is in great need of a clear and forceful presentation of the moral consequences of such matters as the League of Nations, the World Court, and tariff legislation, laws relating to trusts and corporations, laws relating to profit sharing and representation in industry, moral benefits from a government Department of Education, moral implications of the Minimum Wage Law, Workmen's Insurance, and Child Labor. It is part of a minister's duty to distinguish for his people the ethical elements in proposed laws or changes in political institutions, and to state his position not only in general but in particular on specific issues. To rise to the level

of a moral view of political questions is the first duty of the Christian minister and the Christian citizen to the state—an obligation of a higher law which he is to discharge in the fear of God as a part of his repetition of the Lord's prayer, "Thy Kingdom come."

The view of a statesman as to the minister's place in politics is set forth by Woodrow Wilson in an address on *The Present Task of the Ministry*:

To my thinking, the Christian Church stands at the center not only of philanthropy but at the center of education, at the center of science, at the center of philosophy, *at the center of politics*; in short, at the center of sentient and thinking life. And the business of the Christian Church, of the Christian minister, is to show the spiritual relations of men to the great world processes, whether they be physical or spiritual. It is nothing less than to show the plan of life and men's relations to the plan of life. . . .

We are infinitely restless because we are not aware of the plan. How arid, how naked, how unsatisfactory a thing merely to know that it is an inexorable process to which we must submit! How necessary for our salvation that our dislocated souls should be relocated in the plan! And who shall relocate them, who shall save us by enabling us to find ourselves, if not the minister of the Gospel?

It seems to me that the minister must interpret the plan, not only in terms which will satisfy men of science and the deeper standards of theology, but also in terms and from a point of view that will aid the man in the street who can see only a little part of the plan. The minister must show men that there is a plan and he must show that plan to them ultimately in its completeness. . . .

Christianity came into the world to save the world as well

as to save individual men, and individual men can afford in conscience to be saved only as part of the process by which the world itself is regenerated. Do not go about then, with the idea that you are picking out here and there a lost thing but go about with the consciousness that you are setting afoot a process which will lift the whole level of the world and of modern life.

The Christian conception of the Kingdom of God presents a view of the relation between God and the world which gives meaning and vitality to daily activities. All our aims and plans may be judged and interpreted in the light of our understanding of this purpose of the universe as a whole. The coactivity of God and man can only be carried out through this unification of purposes. Such a unification comes through the communion of man with God, by which the values of perfection come to be cherished by man. To further this communion it cannot be doubted that God approaches man in various ways—through Nature, friends, conscience, and Divine Revelation: "Behold I stand at the door and knock." Man may respond to this approach:

This sanctuary of my soul
Unwitting I keep white and whole,
Unlatched and lit, if Thou shouldst care
To tarry or to enter there.

Man may resist for a time, but his very nature, and the nature of the moral medium, are such that ulti-

mately he must respond, not to the pressure of mechanical necessity, but to the persuasion of love.

This response will not take the form of continued contemplation of the divine, but, following what Professor Hocking calls the principle of alternation, will issue in action in harmony with the divine will. The inmost mystery of the Holy Trinity is described by Bishop McConnell as a fellowship of service.

In a similar way, the fellowship and communion between God and man is carried out, not in contemplation only, but in doing the Father's will. In engaging at a common task, the same mighty enterprise which motivates Creation, man finds his true fellowship with the divine.

This Kingdom ideal of the coöperation of man with God, by which the Church motivates society, gives transcendent meaning to all the activities of the state. The hope of democracy is that all God's children shall become prophets, and that the Lord will put his spirit upon them. All citizens, conscious of their prophetic responsibilities, will play their parts as though

Upon a stage invisible
To mortal eyes, beneath the all-seeing Judge,
With high onlooking angels round the scene
Where Truth with Error, Vice with Virtue strive,
While Christendom awaits the unfolding plot
Of Providence.



PLATE XVI. THE CIVIC EMBLEM OF GENEVA, SWITZERLAND: THE EAGLE AND THE KEYS, SYMBOLS OF STATE AND CHURCH

The elements of the seal of the city of Geneva are found on illuminated monastic manuscripts of the twelfth century. It was not adopted in its present form, however, until 1543, upon the recommendations of Calvin and Beza.

The spirit of moral heroism and religious devotion has characterized Geneva since the Reformation. Their civic emblem, adopted at that early time, is a shield, showing on one half an eagle, on the other the keys of St. Peter, symbolizing the interdependent relationships which exist between the state and Church, freedom and faith, democracy and religion. The individual was to live his life for the glory of God, and the state also was but a tool of Divine Providence.

The leadership of Geneva is justly recognized in three great departments of human activity. It has been the center of the moral and spiritual development of Europe; the source of scientific and educational awakening; and the champion of democratic, political, and social ideals. So that more and more the ancient motto of the city is being realized, "*Post Tenebras Lux*," "*After Darkness Light*."

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1 Is the complete separation of politics and religion either possible or desirable? How can the administration of Church and state be so related as to preserve the essential nature and rights of each?

2 Organize a debate in which the idealistic and the realistic views of Church-state relationships will be presented.

3 Organize a debate in which the Catholic and Protestant views of Church-state relationships will be presented.

4 What are the duties and limitations of the state in such matters as:

(a) *Social alleviation*—prevention of sickness, poverty, crime, etc.

(b) *Education*—"To what extent should government dictate curricula of public and private schools? How much education may the government make compulsory?"

(c) *Industrial relations*—To what extent should government interfere in the regulation of public utilities and prevention of monopolies? Should the government intervene in conflicts between capital and labor in the interest of public order or of the consumers?

5 To safeguard public welfare should the state undertake to supervise personal morals? Has the government a right to interfere in such matters as drinking, gambling, gossiping, and Sunday sports? How far may the state go in restricting personal liberty for the sake of the public welfare? What should be the attitude of the state toward the conscientious objector—to war?—to prohibition?

6 T. H. Green says, in effect, that the state has no right to punish for crime unless it gives its citizens a moral and religious education. Should the state therefore subsidize schools for the teaching of morality and religion?

7 Explain the meaning of the picture on page 328, "The Dispersion of a Sunday-School," in terms of modern events. Are there any reasons why the state may rightfully interfere with or suppress the doctrinal teachings of any church or sect? Are modern heresy trials ever promoted by such forces as labor, capital, or the state in the attempt to control the social teachings of the Church?

8 How should the state deal with secret societies such as Freemasonry, Knights of Columbus, Ku-Klux Klan, and Communist or "Red" Sunday-schools?

9 What are the respective rights and duties of Church and state with regard to such matters as freedom of religious assembly, administration of church property, management of ecclesiastical affairs, public schools, religious schools?

10 What is the relation of the Protestant's conception of the Invisible Church to the idealist's philosophy of the state? What is the meaning of the Kingdom of God as the goal of the state? What are the practical implications of this view?

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